000

Native Cultures in Southwest and South Africa /Eingeborenenkulturen in Südwest-und Südafrika/.

by Viktor Lebzelter

Leipzig: 1934
Karl W. Hiersemann

Translated from the German by Richard Neuse

Human Relations Area Files

1961

/Title page/

Table of Contents

Chapter Page

Introduction 1

The Bushman Tribes

1. The Bushmen of Angola 6
2. The Bushmen of Western Otjimpolo Veld 8
3. The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of Oondonga [Ndonga] 14
4. The Bushmen of Ukuambi 20
5. The Bushmen of Uukualuthi 22
6. The !Kung Bushmen 25
   1. The Number. 2. On Their Character. 3. Posture, Movement, Stamina. 4. Physical Types and Constitution. 5. The Course of the Day. 6. The Divisions of the Year. 7. The Course of Life. 8. The Hunt. 9. The Water Supply. 10. The Veldkost. 11. Ergology. 12. Social Organization. 13. Illness and Treatment. 14. The Doctors' Test. 15. The Elements. 16. Rain Magic. 17. Religion. 18. Doctrine of Souls and Belief in Immortality. 19. Dance Songs. 20. Law. 21. Conflicts with Europeans.
7. The Bushmen of the North 119
8. The Nogau Bushmen of Epukiro 126
   1. Birth and Childhood. 2. Boys' Initiation. 3. Girls' Initiation. 4. Courtship, Wedding, Marriage. 5. State and Law. 6. The World Picture and Religion. 7. Medicine. 8. Death and Burial. 9. Hunting. 10. Clothing and Ornaments. 11. Weapons.

[Chapters 9-14 on the Bushmen, pp. 80-105, and subsequent sections on the Bergdama, Herero, the tribes of Amboland, and the tribes of the Southeast, pp. 106-300 have not been translated.]

000

List of Illustrations

Page

1. !Kung at a Bushman Well 63
2. Gauab Driving the Game toward the Hunters 63
3. Firemaking Sticks of the Kalahari Bushmen 66
4. Wooden Mortars of the !Kung 69
5. Wooden Vessels of the !Kung 69
6. Large Wooden Bowl of the !Kung 69
7. Pestle and Digging Stick of the !Kung 69
8. (1) Digging Stick with !Kwe; (2) Veld Hoe 69
9. Embroidered Front Apron of Leather (!Kung) 71
10. Buphane disticha Herb. Arrow-poison Plant of the !Kung 72
11. Acocanthera venenata. Arrow-poison Plant of the !Kung 72
12. Bows of the !Kung 74
13. Dance Drum of the !Kung (Kuntsas) 75
14. Calendar Stick of the !Kung 75
15. Dacha Pipe of the !Kung Bushmen 78
16. Scratching Instrument 80
17. !Kung Instrument for Knocking out Teeth 82
18. Kirri of the !Kung 87
19. Sorcerer with Bird Mask and Spirits of Sickness Following 89
20. Bushman Revolver of the !Kung 94
21. Spirits of the Dead and Rain Animal 102
21a. Representation of a Curing Scene 119
22-23. The Incising Rolled off the Sticks of the Naron (?) Bushmen 133
24. Magical Contact between Hunter and Game 136
25. Girl's Necklace with Magical Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau). 141
26. Nogau Girl in Finery of Ostrich Egg Beads. 142
27. Arrows of the ≠Au-in 153
28. Bows of the No-gau 155
29. Game Trap 155

[Figs. 30-111 are in untranslated portion.]

000

End Plates

I. Camping Places of the Expedition in the Southwest.
1. Advance into the Sand Veld. 2. Camp near Shandi in the Otjimpolo Veld. 3. On the high dunes of the Etosha Pan. 4. Under the Baobab Tree of Uukualuthi.

II. Landscapes on the !Kung Veld.
1. !Kung Huts in the Bush Veld. 2. Summer Landscape in the !Kung Veld. 3. The Omuramba u Omatako south of Otjituo. 4. Winter Landscape in the Sand Veld.

III. !Kung. Camp of the !Kung along the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo. The author Negotiating with !Kung Bushmen in the Otjimpolo Veld.

IV. Windscreens and Huts of the !Kung.

V. !Kung Bushmen from the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

VI. 1. Back Apron (Betschuana), 2. Neck Band (Bushmen), 3. Grass Armbands, 4. Fly Swatters (!Kung), 5. Hide Sack (Kaunas Hottentot), (Museum for Ethnology, Berlin 6. Bushman Arrows (Cape Province ?) (Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart).

VII. 1. Apron for Little Girls (Nama and Hei//om) 2. Women's Apron (Region of Gobabis) 3. Perfume Box (Herero) 4-6. Bushman Caps and Straw Hats of the Bushmen (!Kung) (1-4 and 6, Ethnology Museum, Berlin; 5, Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart)

VIII. Children of the !Kung Bushmen.

IX. 1. !Kung. Setting a Trap. 2. Ostrich in the Trap (!Kung; Sand Veld).

X. !Kung Types from the Otjimpolo Veld.

Introduction

121 The purpose of my expedition, on which I was accompanied
by my wife, Maria Lebzelter-Grammetbauer, was to study the
anthropology and ethnology of the native tribes, especially of the
Bushmen, as well as the archeology of South Africa. The original
plan came from Professor Father Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D.
122 Repeated generous stipends from His Holiness Pope Pius XI made
possible the continuation of the expedition, which was fostered
with tireless zeal by Father Schmidt. The Austrian Government,
by means of special administrative measures, made it possible for
me to set out on this journey. Furthermore, the editor of Anthropos,
Professor Father W. Koppers, repeatedly lent considerable support
to the expeditionary fund. The Research Grant Board in Johannesburg granted me -- although for purely anthropological purposes --
a single subvention of 50 pounds.

114 I have already described the program and execution of my
South African expedition in the first volume of this work. Here,
before presenting the ethnological results, I should like to portray
in rough outline how these results were arrived at. I must state in
advance that there was a space of only three weeks between the time
when the measures taken by the Austrian authorities made it certain
that I could leave my homeland and my actual departure. Hence, a
[122] more detailed study of the native languages was out of the question.
The conditions under which a person today can do ethnological field
work are fundamentally different from those of the pioneering era.
[797] Through the activity of the missions, there is growing up among all
[177] tribes, except for the Bushmen, a stratum of intelligent individuals
who, if not in this generation, certainly in the next, will take over
the research among their own people. I recall a lawyer's clerk in
Natal (Swazi) who had acquired a pamphlet of ethnological lectures from Johannesburg and had learned it by heart. When he
turned to a White ethnologist, in order to begin the practical work,
the latter assured him that just as a race horse could not be used
for plowing, so an ox could not be used for racing. Meanwhile,
however, a number of very creditable works by natives have
115 already appeared in print. In my investigations I have always
used native schoolteachers who had a command not only of the

[1 cont.]

115 German or English language, spoken and written, but also of their
native tongue in grammar and phonetics.

000 Among the Zulu and Swazi I made my studies more as the
occasion arose. Here I was indebted in particular to Father Andreas
Ngidi in Inkamana, Princess Maris Dhlamini in Mbabane, and the
Italian missionaries in Swàziland for my data. My travels were
aided predominantly by the missions. Whereas in the diocese of
the Catholic missions of Zululand and Marianhill the main em-
phasis of the work was upon anthropological and prehistoric
[121) matters, in Southwest Africa ethnological studies were the special
task of the expedition. Through the kindness of the provicar,
115 Father Schleipen of the Catholic Mission in Windhoek, the school-
teacher Alois Kheibeb was assigned to me, with whose help I
came in contact with the old Dama. At the [2] Catholic Mission
in Okombahe, Father Bachmann introduced me to the brother of
Chief Gottlieb Horeseb, who came with a few other people to tell
me stories. In Grootfontein it was Father Jaeger who placed his
Dama schoolteacher, Nikolaus Horeseb, at my disposal. I then
further succeeded in obtaining a very intelligent !Kung woman,
Katiti, who was married to a Hei//om, and this made it possible
for me to have verbal contact with the !Kung. In Ovamboland I
was able to rely on the generous support of the Finnish Evangelical
Mission. Through the help of Mr. Leuch I engaged a respected
man from Oshigambo, Erastus Mbumba, who had been a clerk in
Swakopmund for 13 years and who spoke superb German. The
Bushmen informants in Ovamboland spoke Ovambo. In Epukiro
the mission superior, Father Watterott, O.M.J., placed at my
disposal the village headman, Franz Arenat, who in turn estab-
lished contact for me with the Nogau Bushmen. The interpreters
(124] have to be paid well. To all those who helped me in my work, I
should like at this point to express my heartfelt thanks.

123 In order to achieve genuine success in the ethnological
field, it is necessary to gain the confidence and sympathy of the
natives and to instill in them the conviction that one has no evil
intentions toward them or would want to make them look ridiculous;
money alone does not suffice. The relationship between the
648 Whites and Coloreds is of such a kind that the native from the
576 outset faces the White with the greatest distrust. The natives
are basically a courteous people, and among themselves they live

[2 cont.]

648 according to strictly regulated codes of conduct. No native would
576 say something unpleasant to another without cause. Modes of
address such as are frequently heard among us, for example, "You
don't look well, are you ill?" and similar amiable remarks, are
out of the question. Each native expects to be treated in accordance
with his social position. The natives cannot understand it
when, say, a European traveler or missionary treats young people
with extraordinary kindness; on the other hand, they find the
casual treatment of older people and patresfamilias a sign of
crude tactlessness. In Ovamboland, for example, the term of
123 respect for men is tati = "father." The ethnologist who treats
648 the grey-haired men of a native tribe as though they were old
people of his own race who, in whatever position they may find
themselves, have fulfilled their life's task and therefore deserve
respect will have won half the battle. However simple and
matter-of-course following this maxim might seem, in actual
practice it turns out to be quite difficult in many cases. Quite
aside from the fact that many a scholar sees in the native less a
fellow human being than an object of study, the chief difficulty
lies in the traditional forms of conduct that the Whites have
adopted toward the natives. No native is allowed to sit on a chair
in the company of Whites. In European houses there is usually
a little bench in front of or behind the entrance door for black
notables. The ordinary native is made to squat on the floor. It
is maintained, not unjustly, to be sure, that this is the natives'
original manner of sitting; nonetheless, the Black finds this
manner of sitting a humiliation if it is forced upon him by the
European. The native, in the view of the Europeans residing
there, is simply an inferior kind of human being, with whom they
do not even want to go to the same church, a circumstance that
makes the task of many missionaries considerably more difficult.
Should the traveler make a radical break with these customs and
practices, he would have to forego the company and support of the
Europeans, on whom he is, after all, dependent. Hence, an
extraordinary measure of tact is required in order not to injure
the pride of either the Whites or the natives. At the same time,
it is true that among certain tribes, such as the Herero or the
Ombarantu, the dislike of the Whites is so intense that useful

[2 cont.]
123 ethnological work among them, for the time being, is quite
648 impossible. Even among the Bushmen the matter was by no means
simple. Old Khame, who later became my good friend and
informant, at first refused to help, saying: "Why should I open my
heart to you, since I know very well that you are my enemy." The
native also senses very accurately whether the respect one shows
him is genuine. Finally, through the way he is treated, he
suffers from inferiority complexes that make dealings [3] with
him even more difficult. I have treated the natives as though they
were Europeans, but naturally with due regard for the native forms
of conduct, and in my relations with them I can say that I have
been successful.

123 A single serious conflict with the natives can mean the
end of an expedition. It is not just that the colonial authorities
rightly grant permission to cross the police zone only to those
people who have proved capable of getting along with the natives;
another reason is the fact that the transmission of news among the
[203] natives is extraordinarily rapid. The news of my measurements
in Walvis Bay reached the Otjiwarongo Reserve within 14 days,
and from there it reached Otjituo in the extreme northeast in a
week, not, as one might think, by postal communication, but
through migratory Herero. Upon my arrival in Otjituo the people
there were already acquainted with my intentions and my
personality. The reader may possibly object to my actual accounts
on the ground that I have succeeded in providing a fully rounded
picture for only a very few tribes. I can truthfully say that there
was a sincere intention to investigate the material thoroughly
[122] everywhere. I carried on the investigations among the individual
tribes for as long as I had money available. It is impossible, after
all, to depend entirely on a single informant; instead, several
informants are needed in every case. Ethnological inquiries are
practically the only situations in which the natives have the
opportunity to lay down conditions. I can force the native to string
123 124 wire, to harvest maize, or to herd cattle as much as I want at the
low price customary in the country, but I cannot force him to
reveal his old tribal traditions. Not even the Bushmen wanted to
take "brown money," but only "white" and "yellow." After I
gained the confidence of the natives, as I can truthfully state,

[3 cont.]

123 the sum of the ethnological results obtained in each case is a func-
124 tion of the amount of "yellow" money that in each instance was
available to me.

000 The results of my work, together with the space available to me, determined the size and content of this book. For the prehistoric cultures, I refer the reader to the first volume.

114 My original intention of giving a survey of those tribes
128 among whom I was unable to do research had to be abandoned in
view of the amount of space placed at my disposal. I intend to
do this in the final section of the third volume, where, along with
the anthropological findings, an over-all survey of the cultural
and racial history of South Africa is to be presented. I have
(127) referred to the literature at some length only in the accounts on
the Bushmen tribes of South Africa. In particular the officers of
the Imperial German Colonial Force performed extremely valuable
pioneering work in this area. Their accounts, given with military
exactitude, are unsurpassable and represent ethnological sources
of the first rank.

126 Wherever I did not carry out the observations myself but wrote down the translations of my native interpreters, I have left them unchanged. Hence, I hope that the reader will not hold against me the stylistic defects that appear here and there. The native words for the most part were written down by my interpreters. I would have been happy if it had been possible for me to have all the texts checked by competent experts. This was impossible. I therefore request indulgence in case there are any errors in the linguistic transcription. At any rate, these people wrote their mother tongue. [Page 4 blank.]

[5] The Bushmen Tribes

172 In terms of geological eras, South Africa has undoubtedly been inhabited for as long a time as the other parts of the Old World. Naturally, the first cultures we know are those that possessed a stone industry. Among these the hand-ax industry, which is also the oldest elsewhere, is likewise widespread in South and Southwest Africa. Since Reck has most recently established

ANGOLA !KUNG

[5 cont.]

173 the Oldoway race as one of its carriers, the presence of a Eurafrican racial element from oldest times on may be regarded as certain also for South Africa. The carriers of this hand-ax industry, who, I am convinced, already carried on a kind of plant cultivation and were tied essentially to the forested zones, were later followed by a group of peoples and races with definite flake industries. Among these we may include the Katanga race and the other Australiform finds. A new wave of Eurafrican racial elements was brought by the carriers of the blade industries of the 174 Middle Stone Age of South Africa. Even today we are still unable to determine when the Bushman races adopted a Stone Age industry or even when they entered the country. Just as racially [144] the Bushman incorporated remnants of all the preceding races or [184] those that at one time existed side by side with them (Europoid -- Australiform), so their culture, varying from tribe to tribe, likewise constitutes a unity only in its optimal adaptation to the conditions of the environment. In its individual traits, on the other hand, it represents a residual culture whose stability depends on a selection intentionally and purposively carried out, and which resulted from foreign cultures from the Old Stone Age up to the present.

Chapter 1

The Bushmen of Angola

105 We are indebted to D. F. Bleek (1) for most of the data

[113] 1. D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," Bantu Studies, Vol. III, No. 2, 1928 Johannesburg. Further, Archiv für Anthropologie, 1930.

concerning the Angola Bushmen. The Bushmen are !Kung. The men are 159.3 (145.5-170) centimeters tall, the women 148.8 (135-161.3) centimeters. They live between the Msuma in the north, the Lomba in the south, and between Okawango and the

/5 cont./

105 Ninde. They have stopped collecting veldkost and confine themselves to hunting, exchanging the products for vegetables and the like from the Mabunda /Bunda/ and Luchazi, with whom they have a dependent relationship. Their time divisions are the same as those among the !Kung in the south.

The Angola Bushmen have two or three wives. Some of the married couples were cousins.

Each household has a number of calabashes, a few baskets, and a clay pot. Wooden pestles are used for pounding the grain, as in the south.

Among the Bushmen of Kunzumbia, the ear lobes and nasal septum are pierced. All adult men have tattooing on the forehead with vertical lines between the eyes. Furthermore, on the arm and chest they wear so-called "flesh marks" (2) /6/ to record the big game they have killed. The women, too, are tattooed. As weapons, besides bows and arrows, they have the kirri and a short knife. Spears are rare. Ironware, of course, is obtained in trade from the Bantu for the most part, although the Bushmen in Musombu already have their own forge.

[114] The rain dance is described by Bleek just as I have witnessed it. The women and girls stand in a group on one side, singing and clapping their hands, while the men also sing, but do not clap, and perform rhythmic movements with the upper part of the body and arms. They sing:

//nwa-se //kabama //gu a i-i New moon, come out, give us water
//nwa-se tatana //gu a i-i New moon, thunder water down for us
//nwa-se tala u//gu a i-i New moon, throw water down for us.

For the boys' initiation, the candidates withdraw into the forest with three medicine men for a month. There they dance at night, and occasionally the spirit Huwe appears at the dance. There is also a girl's initiation, and at that time another spirit, //Gaua, is supposed to lead the dance. The tattooing of the girls is done in his honor.

[171] 2. These are also found in Ongandjera and along the Natakanako Pan.

ANGOLA !KUNG
WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD

[6 cont.]

105 In their religious ideas, the moon plays the chief role. The new moon is supposed to be a child or a man; the full moon, a woman. They also say that the moon is the older sister, and the sun, the younger sister. Besides the moon, Huwe and //Gaua appear as mythical personages. Instead of Huwe, they also say //Nwa-se, "little new moon." Bleek believes that Huwe is the spirit of the forest, who causes the growth of trees and grass and thus also the growth of game, therefore determining the success or failure of the hunt. Whether or not Huwe is worshiped could not be determined. It is interesting to note what is said concerning //Gaua: "//Gaua is another being. The people from Ngami Lake give the word three meanings: dream, ghost, spirit. Among the Angola Bushmen it is used sometimes for ghost, and sometimes more impersonally. A woman said: When a person dies, a ghost (//Gaua) comes from his grave, which can be seen by the medicine men." Thunder and lightning come from //Gaua. The person struck by lightning becomes a star in the sky. The stars are the campfires of //Gaua. The Bushmen are supposed to be the children of //Gaua. He is a man who lives in the forest, and his home is a hole in the ground. An informant explained that //Gaua is equivalent to Ndjambi (god). There are two kinds of medicine men: those who can see the spirits, conduct the boys' initiations, and do the tattooing, while the second kind cures the sick.

Chapter 2

The Bushmen of the Western Otjimpolo Veld

122 In Shandi, among the eastern Ukuanjama [Kuanyama], I was able to establish contact with the Bushmen through the kindness of the Resident, Mr. Eaddes, and of the native pastor, Paulus.
101 In part, these Bushmen were genuine !Kung, who said they were the same as those from Karakowisa, with whom, however, a fruitful understanding was impossible; and in part they were people who called themselves !Kung, but, judging by their language and customs, are southern Bushmen of Amboland. They themselves say that their fathers came from Ongandjera. The following

WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD

[6 cont.]

101 account refers only to the latter.

821 [1] The sky is designated by them as !nanu áiba Éroba Kharésa ("rain house of god").

776 For god they have the expressions "Erob" and "χ'amab"
775 only "Erob" is used in prayers. χ'amab (1) has been preserved

1. χ indicates a very low gutteral click, for which I know of no notation.

in χ'amá //gu Khe = "people who are with god," in other words, the souls of the deceased in heaven. Everyone goes there, the good as well as the bad. Erob has no wife and no children. A human being has only one soul (!gau-ba). This soul goes to the heavenly house and remains there "until Erob makes new people from it." Here is a belief in the transmigration of souls, which, it must be admitted, is not thought through any further.

No spirits of the dead remain on earth. There are little
776 bush spirits, the gangorob; they are harmless and do nothing. There are no evil little spirits. They supposedly know nothing about Heiseb and /Nawa.

136 The supply of game is ample in the tall dry forests of the Otjimpolo Veld. There are also fish in the rainy season. The
[825] Bushmen call them "shiba" (Ovambo: oshi or ochi); in other words, originally they had no word for them.

224 The Bushmen are helpless against the lion (χ'oréba).
[825] They leave a region as soon as lions make it unsafe. "There is no point in hunting them."

The leopard (χ'nába) is hunted with dogs (ariba). The
[439] chiefs of Amboland pay a good price for the skin, since little princes and princesses are not carried in a litter made of cowhide, but in a leopard skin. The jackal (≠Khai-eba) and the Löffelhund (//arúba) [a fox-like wild dog of the subfamily Octocyoninae] are hunted with enthusiasm. "Aruba" probably corresponds to N. //arob = striped jackal.

Wild dogs, "Khere," !nube (N. !goub) are preferably
[825] avoided. No notice is taken of the hyena, ≠Khai-lasa (N. ≠heirab),
[262] and it is not eaten. When they come near the camp, it is not a
[78?] good sign.

[7 cont.]

222 The honey badger, !uisa (N. !ous), which leads to the
825 bees, is followed ever so eagerly.

224 The common wild pig (gariba), the kudu (daub), the gemsbok χ'uaba (N. /gaib), and all the small antelopes are hunted. Pits are no longer known, although they used to dig them in former times.

[834] If they decide to go hunting, sexual intercourse must be avoided the night before. In the evening the hunters go into the forest and spend the night there. Before dawn they rise and pray:

[539]	Pu, pu, Eró, /nari dsu /ari mate	God, tomorrow early we receive.

When a piece of game has been killed, one of the hunters cuts a piece of flesh from the animal's body and hands it to the leader of the hunt. This meat is called am-shái-khe. A fire is made, and this piece is placed on it. When it is roasted, the leader cuts off a piece and shouts:

[539]	Ero, Ero, Ero, ha gore, ha gore i Khe Khandi ô	Erob, Erob, Erob, eat, eat With us flesh.

After a pause:

ha lĕ a lĕ ha góre o Khandi ô	Come! Come! Let us eat flesh.

Now the roasted flesh is consumed. Nothing is thrown away or left behind for Erob.

Then the game is cut up, and everyone goes home with his portion.

136 Snakes are not rare, although they are by no means as common as in the stony regions of the southwest.

The boa constrictor eats human beings; if it catches a Bushman, it starts to consume him at the legs!

132
821
731 In spite of the timber forest, the danger of drought is great. Erob sends rain. When there is a drought, the Bushmen dance and pray:

[539]	Ero, Ero, Ero, /ga !goro /ga-wi -ma ta re	Erob, Erob, Erob, we are dying of thirst Water give us.

177
776
782 [8] It is very interesting to observe how in these certainly very ancient hunting and rain prayers the former old heathen gods' names Huwe and χ'amab were replaced by the Christian "Ellob."

I asked the people whether they knew any other prayers and received the following answer: "We know very well that

[8 cont.]

177 nothing can be done without Erob; we also pray to him whenever 776 somebody is ill, but we have no song for that, we do it in our 782 hearts." In these conceptions Christian influence is obvious.

881 They have no initiation for boys, but there is one for girls at the time of the first menstruation.

The girls' initiation is called "dorob."

At the onset of the menses, the girl becomes a "χ'ába χ'ábesa"; a special hut (omba) is built for her, where she is guarded by older women who feed her. The girl is allowed to eat anything, but nothing with her hands. When the menses end, a two-day festival begins, which terminates with a concluding dance. The candidate is seated in the center. Men and women go around [534+] her in a circle. The men blow on wooden trumpets. (These trumpets are made by the !Kung at only one place.) At the same time the drum is beaten (!guruba). At the conclusion, the women make "music." They clap their hands and sing:

[539] e-e-e-e-a-eje a jeja ni u u e . . .

Between times the drums and wooden trumpets sound.

539 Then the choral song of the men begins.

881 boro ai /i-he ≠hasa	Daughter my has become tall (just)
≠hau ge	Stand erect (tall)
/gai /ka uta (?) /noro-re	Good be now our little sunshine (1)

1. Literally: "Shine, you."

/ari ni tessa	Dance (2), sing, sue for her hand (3)

2. Literally: "Jump."

3. Literally: "Ask for!"

!goasa hi bare	People, be glad
Ti Komi !gŏǎ Kŏǒ...Kŏǒ... Kŏŏǒ	So, in this way, people, you should do it.

Then the dance begins anew.

[582] The engagement usually takes place long before the 585 girl's initiation. Hence the rule is that the wedding and the girl's 881

WESTERN OTJIMPOLO
VELD

[8 cont.] HENCE THE RULE IS THAT THE WEDDING AND THE GIRLS
585 initiation coincide, and usually the girl moves to the village of
881 her first husband immediately after the completion of the festivities.
[591]

584 When a man is courting, he must first attempt to obtain
the consent of the girl. Once he has succeeded, he goes to the
girl's parents. If they also give their consent, the engagement is
settled. At this point, all communication is interrupted until the
bridegroom appears and says to the girl's parents: "I want to have
the wedding now." If the parents agree, they go to their relatives
to spread the happy news. If the relatives object, they can still
prevent the marriage. If they do not, the date of the wedding
feast is fixed. In the bush, the bridegroom must bring the bride's
parents a piece of big game. Usually people make matters
439 simpler for themselves. Either they have already earned a head
584 of cattle from a black farmer, and this stands ready in the farmer's
648 herd to be fetched for the wedding feast, or -- and this is more
452 common -- the Bushman will begin a begging tour around the
black farmyards until someone gives him a cow as an advance on
hides to be supplied later or on work to be performed.

452 And miraculously, this always succeeds. It is to be ex-
648 plained on various grounds. A black farmer, whose worst character traits include avarice and greed, would never give another
Black who possesses nothing one of his dearly beloved cows on
the strength of uncertain promises. And not unjustly. The next
day the cow would have disappeared into the stomachs of the
borrower and his friends, and on the day after that the borrower
would have disappeared beyond the tribal boundaries. Repeatedly
the Bushmen came to my camp too late. But from the Ukuanjama
I always received the assurance: "The Bushmen will keep their
word; they will certainly come if they are alive." In addition
to this, of course, there is the symbiosis. Each village has its
[437] Bushmen. During the period of the harvest they suddenly appear
[9] and help with it. Between times they never miss a celebration, and at one time or another this one comes with hides and
another with honey. And finally the chiefs of the Bushmen kin
[622] groups see to it that nothing happens to injure the reputation of
[674] the Bushmen. It is unheard of for these people to commit theft.

[9 cont.]

586 Up to the birth of the first child, the marriage is dissolvable, but not thereafter. 595 Monogamy is the rule; where there is polygamy, the first wife is the "head wife." 596 The eldest brother of the head wife is the family head. 611 The boys belong to the family of the wife, and the daughters to the family of the father.

582 The strictest exogamy prevails. Son and daughter may marry neither into the father's kin group nor into the mother's kin group. [587] On the other hand, a young widow is usually married by one of her brothers-in-law.

551 The following kin-group names were reported to me: !Nui-a, Dai, áben, orasi, Gombe, χ'am, χ'am-Kha.

805 The following times of the day are differentiated:

eruba, time before sunrise.

!khoasa, time of sunrise (N. khoa-am = to open, that is, the door for the sun is opened).

sorésa, "the sun shines."

sorésa ≠kam go, "the young sun goes," breakfast time. In effect, below the tropics one has the impression that the sun, after it has stood on the horizon for a while, moves toward the zenith with great speed.

sorésa !khoai go, "the sun goes back." Noon.

//gui-sa, "it declines (lies down)." Afternoon.

[512] ≠khai-am-go, "to rise and go." After hunting or searching for veldkost, the Bushmen usually take a rest before it is time to go home and start cooking (late afternoon).

≠kha-go, "to go through." (The sun goes through the gate of the night.) Dusk, sunset.

!khui-sa, to be evening.

dschu-ba, night (N. tsuχub).

821 These Bushmen have the idea that the old sun dies every night and a new, young sun appears the next morning. [171] That the moon dies every month and is resurrected again is a notion so widespread in Africa that it is really unnecessary to make special mention of it.

805 The year begins when a new rainy season sets in.

//hauba, "storms rise." Rainy season.

WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD

DAMA

[9 cont.]

805 shauba, cold season (N. sáob).

!kn-aba, hot season (N. !nái, warm).

535 Among dances, an ostrich and an ape dance were mentioned to me.

123 The studies, which began so promisingly, came to an end because I was evidently unable to present the village chief with enough presents. One evening a boy appeared and told me that the Bushmen had "had to go hunting." I continued to wait a number of days for the !Kung called by Mr. Eaddes. The messengers returned with the news that they had found no one. Another Sunday coat for the village mayor and some yellow money for the Bushmen, and priceless material could have been obtained.

[10] Chapter 3

The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of the Ondonga [Ndonga]

173 According to their tradition, these Bushmen came from Herero country. Hence they represent the connecting link between the "Saan" in the Gobabis district and the Hei//om [Heikum] of the north. The people as a whole designate them-
101 selves as Daman = the wealthy. The horde around Oshigambo calls itself //Huru-Khái. They call their dialect Cháraba. I do not be-
131 lieve that they live far in the interior of the Otjimpolo Veld. They have an enormous respect for the !Kung. The outermost cattle posts of the Ondonga probably coincide pretty much with
172 the boundaries of their territory. A number of them are Bantu-
142 ized and have small physiques. The others engage in hunting
439 and supply the black farmers with the flesh of wild game, hides,
648 ostrich egg beads, and poison. They serve as beaters on the great hunts of Chief Martin. At the court they count for nothing. The farmers like to see them. Little acts of assistance, a sack of berries or veldkost, soften the heart of the black housewife, so that here, as in Uukualuthi [among the Kualuthi?], there are a number of do-nothings who are nonetheless gladly received.

/10 cont./

123 Since I was able to become quite friendly with their "foreman," who possesses a small farm, I discovered some details concerning their outlook on life.

776 They believe in a supreme being which is not conceived of as a human being and which they call χ'amaba. Here we have H. Vedder's /Gamab of the Bergdama.

773 χ'amaba made everything, the sun, the moon, the stars, and also human beings. First he made the Whites, then the Blacks, and finally the Bushmen. They are unable to say how χ'amaba made human beings.

[372] The old Bushmen say that fire comes from the devil.
[776] Heiseb is the devil, according to them. Heiseb and the ostrich played together. The ostrich had the fire on his arm. While dancing the ostrich spread his wings, and Heiseb took the fire from him. Heiseb threw the fire brand behind him. There was a bush which started to burn. And there the people discovered the fire.

776 Heiseb is evil and only does evil. He is conceived as human in form. No one knows where he came from.

χ'amaba, on the other hand, is benevolent. People pray to him for help.

539 I took down the following prayers:

782 1. Prayer for rain: In olden times pieces of wood were
821 cut from the !Hawewa tree. It could not be felled. These pieces of wood were thrown into the fire, and as soon as the pungent smoke rose upward, the people sang in chorus:

χ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i a a	God, give water to drink.
χ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i !hanusa	God, give water rain,
anita(?) a a	so that we may drink.

2. Prayer of thanks for rain: When the rain has finally come, a dance of joy is performed, and the following is sung:

χ'ámaba χ'ámaba χ'ámaba	God, God, God
tūta tūta	We have received, we have received
!hanusa /gam-i-i !hanusa /gam-i-i	Rain water, rain water
tara ái /gam ái !hanusa tutasi	We can drink, drink water, receive water.

[10 cont.]
539 X'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!
[821]
291 [11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and
731 the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes
even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They
[888] do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and
[758] the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays
in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune.
Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children
and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it
means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own.
271 One must have experienced personally the feeling that over-
comes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives
off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a
slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this
song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can
drink again!

539 3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a
782 journey:
[484] χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is
[755] gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor per-
forms his ceremonies.
χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai kháira téve God, let our people rise
again.

789 5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism
is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil:
Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

821 They do not know anything to say about the sun (sorésa).
The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

753 Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those
776 persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this,
and there is no spirit of sickness.

776 There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the
bush. They play tricks.

775 A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul
goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The
house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know
[756] what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

372 881 184 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not 585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 582 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the marriage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A 595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 /12/ A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

[12 cont.]

843 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-
262 buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present.
As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's
hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut.
[553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen
quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are
[177] performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from
the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:

[539] //am ≠haiba, //am ≠haiba (?)

[782] The leader answers:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá	Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower
422 form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual
huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 The gathering of veldkost does not have the great signifi-
[184] cance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already
[462] [857] commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd
[233] a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main
OCCUPATION.

[12 cont.]

000 439 occupation. Even among the nomadic groups, however, meat, hides, and so forth are commonly traded for millet.

Also, the Blacks like to have veldkost on their table, [222] and the Bushmen, like our sponge and berry gatherers, use their knowledge to supply them and carry on petty trade with their veldkost, as well as with honey.

222 137 This is the reason that veldkost, which is either scarce or not very tasty, is not gathered at all any more; indeed, the knowledge of its presence is even disappearing. We must also not forget that the black shepherd boys long ago acquired the knowledge of the Bushmen by observing them. As a result, the number of those interested has naturally climbed sharply, and the veldkost plants have become rare. The following kinds are still regularly gathered:

222 /airoba (ombimbo)	Sweetish, very starchy tubers, like large potatoes.
/érui (omauungǎ)	Galls on the leaves of the omsati tree.
≠gan-i (esarata)	Small fruit.
!Khui-i (oombi)	Dates.
!Korob-ke (oompali)	Bulbs at the roots of a liana.

251 439 Dried meat is made from kudu flesh, which in part is kept and in part sold.

278 [13] Arrow poison is made from the sap of a tree (Euphorbiacea), !Khores-Ke. The Ondonga themselves make no [439] arrow poison, but buy it from the Bushmen for one to two sh per 752 portion. There is no medicine against arrow poison. Deep incisions are made at the place where the arrow entered, and after blood has flowed freely from the wound, it is sucked. In the case of snakebite the same procedure is followed, and some arrow poison is placed on the wound (!!!).

278 609 Our Bushmen denied any knowledge of poisons added to food. Only the "evil Bushmen" in the east had such knowledge, they claimed. This statement scarcely deserves credence.

177 In clothing, dwellings, and weapons, as well as ornaments, not much that is original remains. The process of Bantuization is much further advanced in the material culture than in the spiritual culture. It is, after all, easier to part with clothing than with ideas.

AKUANAMBUA

/13 cont./

Chapter 4

The Bushmen of Ukuambi

115 At an outpost of the Finnish Ukuambi Mission, where I undertook anthropological measurements, I encountered a Bushman from the hordes that live on the northern bank of the Etosha Pan and stand in a loose dependent relationship partly with Ipumbo, partly with Shanika. I was able to converse with him only a few hours.

101 [614] These Bushmen in Ukuambi, as well as at other places, belong to the Ezimo of the Akuanambua. They themselves are divided into a number of exogamous kin groups. My informant belonged to the clan Ari-Ari. The tribe calls itself Akese or Kere and comes from the region between Okaukuejo and Outjo. Today this tribal organization is broken up. The following names -- formerly independent hordes which now live mixed together -- were mentioned to me: /Aru-Kwe, Ashuche, Asécha, !Kuru-Kwei, A !Kha-ta-bé, A-Hei-tére, A !gnuri.

648 [+39] Insofar as these Bushmen do not already lead the life of the Bantu farmers, they are hunters, spies, and occasionally also executioners for the chiefs. They manufacture ostrich egg beads and poison. For twelve good ostrich eggs they receive a fat ox. The Ovambo have quite a peculiar outlook in this respect. They spurn the perfectly good eggs of their hens. The ordinarily somewhat "disreputable" ostrich eggs are purchased for dear money as a delicacy.

611 262 The sons belong to the family of the father, the daughters to that of the mother. The men are not allowed to eat hares, but the women and children do. The eating of hyenas and boa constrictors is prohibited to all.

776 Concerning their religious conceptions I was able to discover the following: In the sky dwells the great captain !Khuwa, which means the same as Huwe. In answer to the question about God, however, he stated that this was Erob, which naturally coincides with the name for God, Ellob, of the Rhenish Mission. The name !Khuwa only occurred casually in the conversation. He was unable to give a clear answer to my question as to whether

[13 cont.]

776 !Khuwa and Erob were the same. In any case, the expression Ellob used by these people comes from Outjo, where there are a number of Christian Bushmen.

!Khuwa lives in the heavenly house χ'ain !nao góroba. [772] The people in heaven eat only large flies, !Khu !Khua-i. The figure /Nawas is unknown. The evil antagonist of Huwe, //Gauab, is also absent. These Bushmen, however, have the same doctrine [774] of the two souls as the !Kung of the east.

775 When someone dies, he becomes the property of !Khuwa; he is a !Khunga. The actual soul, χ'aobe, goes to the heavenly house, remains there, and does nothing but eat large flies. From the bodies of the dead [14] arise the //gauá-i, which run around in the bush and stir up trouble. They correspond to the akwapungu [171] and azizi of the Ovambo. "But the actual souls of the Ovambo and the Bushmen go different ways; those of the Ovambo go under the earth where they have their fields and herds, but those of the Bushmen go up." Since the missionary Mr. Kylves expressed the desire to make some detailed studies of the Bushmen himself, I gladly left this attractive field of study to my kind host.

197 Finally, a number of words indicate that these people 192 are to be included in the Hei//om-Nama group, a point which [101] is very striking with respect to the !Kung elments in their world view.

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Sun	shoreba	sóres
Moon	!háwa	//khab(*)
Stars	/nāmirō-i	/gamiros
Dome of the sky	shorche	≠kanis
Earth	/huwa	!hub-eib
Lightning	/harabé	náwab
Thunder	!nau	!gurub(*)
Rain	≠nanuba	/awib(*)
Lion	χ'amba	χ'ami
Leopard	!kui-oba	!arub(*)
Large bird	anite	--
Dog	arib	arib
Boa constrictor	!aoba	--
Zebra	χorebe	--

AKUANAMBUA
UUKUALUTHI

[14 cont.]

192
197

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Elephant	≠koá-ba	≠koáb
Hare	!kai-éba	!kàirab
Man	áure ba	áob
Woman	tarésha, taréqueta	taris
Child	/koá ruba	/gob
Encampment	//gaun-kwá	//gāus
Head	tanába	tanas
Eye	mu-i	mus
Ears	/gai-i	//noub
Mouth	am-ba	ams
Teeth	//gu-i	//gu-ĩ
Tongue	tamba	nami(*)
Nose	/kui-ba	/guis
Hand	!koam-ba	!omi
Foot	/gai-i	/eis
Ground	/kawa	khas
Arrow	/kaau-i	/ab(*)
Poison	!khore-ai	!gab, !gurub
Palm tree	/haiba	--

Of 29 words only six roots (*) show no relationship with Nama.

Chapter 5

The Bushmen of Uukualuthi

115
[177]

In all Uukualuthi, Uonkolonkathi, and Ombarantu, there are, reportedly, only two Bushmen left who understand the old language. Both of them are good-for-nothing loafers who go from one beer pot to another. Thanks to the kind offices of the missionary, Mrs. Aarni, Chief Moala made one of these men available to me. To be sure, he could not hold out for very long, and during the few days that he devoted to us, he was rarely sober. We had to limit our conversations to the forenoon. What I learned from him is a dying way of life that no longer has any continuity. The man faced the situation with the cheerful resignation of the CHRONIC, GOOD-NATURED IMBIBER ...

UUKUALUTHI

/14 cont./

000 chronic, good-natured imbiber . . .

776 In heaven there is one god, Erob. Lightning (dábara) [821] and rain (!nanus) are sent by him. He calls heaven χ'ameiba. This word is very interesting. It can mean both "place of the /15/ souls (χ'a) " or "place of the χ'amab." The souls [775] (um-ské) go to heaven after death. "This is what they say," said the man, "I haven't been there yet."

He did not know Gauab and Heiseb. Concerning other spirits, he said that people had mentioned them, but he did not believe in them. The spirits are supposedly called "gangarob." 756 The old Bushmen had neither doctors nor medicines against illnesses. 753 To my question about what made people ill, he responded with philosophical equanimity: "If one becomes ill, he is ill like an animal." He knew nothing about the sun (soris) [821] [778] and moon (χ'ab). A sacred fire is unknown to him.

224 782 Of greatest interest is his report, undoubtedly based upon autopsy, concerning an initial offering at the hunt. I give the report in literal translation:

"Before people go out to the hunt, they meet at an omsati tree (//Khaia-aib). There a fire is made. Each hunter rips off a number of leaves, spits on them, and throws them into the fire as he shouts:

[539] Érob, Érob, áu tere! God, God, help us!

"When the game has been killed, one first cuts a piece each from the lung, liver, and stomach and throws each piece singly to the side, saying all the while:

Érob úre, Érob úre! God take, God take!

[539] "Then they start to eat."

This function is performed by the one who has killed the game.

881 585 The following was communicated to me concerning the social organization:

There are initiation ceremonies. The celebration of the first menstruation originally coincided with the wedding. On the first day of menstruation the girl went into a pontok especially constructed for this purpose. Then there was dancing for two or three days, and after the cessation of the menses the girl went to

[15 cont.]

881 the man's encampment and took up married life. Nowadays the
585 first menstruation and wedding no longer always coincide.

584 The consent of the girl is absolutely necessary for the conclusion of the marriage. People often are betrothed already in childhood. Once the girl has grown up, that is, once she has become sexually mature, the suitor goes to the girl's parents. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to enter the encampments of their prospective parents-in-law. If father and mother agree, then they go to the grandparents to obtain their consent. Then oxen, wethers, and goats are collected for the feast. Then the suitor goes to his parents, who in turn consult the grandparents. In the bridegroom's house also livestock is now collected, or, as the case may be, begged or purchased.
585 Then a great feast begins. There is dancing, and long trumpets are blown.

During the wedding dance the men sing:

[539] "Huwi é haa -- huwi é taa -- huwi áni taa." (The girl has grown up.)

The women clap their hands and sing:

"Jee jeee ja! jee jeee ja!"

881 A boys' initiation in the true sense of the term is no
852 longer held. When the boy has grown up, however, a celebration is held and livestock is killed. Similarly, when a child has been born, a celebration takes place, at which wethers or sheep are slaughtered. It is striking that among these Bushmen a sheep usually takes the place of the goat.

551 The boy receives the father's name; the daughter, the mother's name.
611 The children belong to the family of the woman, and the oldest uncle, or oldest brother of the woman, is the head
582 of the family. It is prohibited to marry the children of the mother's sisters.

The kinship terms are as follows:

601

German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
Father	//khum-khe	//gub, dadab, eib
Mother	//khums	//gus, is
Son	a χ'oron-khe	/gōab/gōb
Daughter	χ'ams-khe	/gōas/gōs
Brother	!gasab	!gasab
Sister	di !gas-khe	!gasas

UUKUALUTHI
!KUNG

[16]

German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
601 Son of father's brother	awób (1) !garis-khe	--

1. In this connection cf. !awi (N.):
"To bear the first child."

German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
Son of mother's brother	/góa khoaba	--
Daughter of father's brother	//khum khoás	--
Daughter of mother's brother	//khum khoás	--
Father's brother	di khoáb-khe	--
Mother's brother	khoes-khe-khoaba	--
Father's sister	di-khoaba	--
Mother's sister	//khum khoás	--
Sister-in-law	//khum khoas	--
Wife	tarás	--
Husband	aubā	--

Khoás (pronounced like quás) corresponds to Khois in Nama. Khôib, however, means man, human being, friend, and comparative KhoiXa-Khoin = blood relative.

//Khum Khoas therefore signifies 'blood-related mother," which is properly applied to mother's sisters and their daughters and to the daughters of father's brother, but curiously enough also
[582] to the sisters-in-law, probably because there is also a marriage prohibition with respect to them. Father's sisters and their daughters do not have this title, and one may marry these cousins.

Chapter 6

The !Kung Bushmen

131 The whole enormous region between Ewale, Ukuanjama, Oondonga, the Umaramba u Owambo up to its source, and from there across the farm bush veld up to north of Otjituo, and the whole Sand Veld east of the Omuramba Omatako to Alexeck on

[16 cont.]

131 the one hand, to the Okovanggo and the regions inhabited by the Bamangwato [Ngwato] west of Ngami Lake on the other hand, are inhabited by the tribes of the !Kung group.

Seiner (2) supplies the following apt division of this zone:

[113] 2. Mitteilungen aus Deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1914.

"The !Kung Veld forms the part of the Omaheke belonging to the northern Kalahari and is located between the Okovanggo (from Kagere to 19° southern latitude), the Kaukau Veld, the Sand Veld, the Karst Veld, the Etosha Pan, and the Otjimpolo Veld. -- The Kaukau Veld (according to Passarge, a plateau) is located between the Kung Veld, the Okovanggo, the Okovanggo basin, and the Sand Veld district. As the western boundary, in other words, toward the Sand Veld, the line Bogara -- Debra -- Blue Bush Pan in the western tip of the Okovanggo basin, close to the German border, should be adopted. The northern Sand Veld, through which I have traveled, can be delimited on the west by the line Nuragas -- Otjituo and by the valley of the Omatako from Otjituo to Okahitua; on the south by the line Okahitua -- Okosondusu -- Otjosonjou -- Epata -- Epukiro -- Rietfontein-East; on the east by the border zone of the Chanse Veld, the Okovanggo basin, and the Kaukau Veld. For the 137 northern boundary toward the Kung Veld, the factors of climate and plant geography must be taken into consideration, since there is no natural boundary here; the line Bogara -- Kanovlei -- Nuragas approximately forms the northern boundary of the Kalahari bush of the central Kalahari, which is sharply differentiated from the dry forest of the northern Kalahari. -- The loose, [134] deep, leached steppe sand bears for the most part a tall, light xerophytic dry forest, usually with no underbrush and with deciduous trees that, as a result of the quantities of water stored in their root stalks and trunks, bear green leaves during the greater part of the dry season, and in part even bear blossoms and fruit during this season; this dry forest is a formation of relatively recent date. The vegetation of the firm, gray-humus, [134] loamy river sand, or of the looser sand with ample ground

!KUNG

[16 cont.]

[134] 137 saturation and ground water, is a dry forest of a different type which corresponds to Warburg's lowland forest and, in contrast to the light dry forest of the looser sand, is distinguished by a relatively high density. -- The dry forest steppe occupies the largest areas of the !Kung Veld, and [17] lowland forest and grass steppe form only modest enclaves in it. Within the dry forest, at those places where the nature of the terrain makes possible the accumulation and preservation of relatively significant quantities of water or ground humidity, there are individual trees that are to be regarded as remnants of a former compact lowland forest, and the floristic composition of such forest islands leads to the conclusion that the entire region, with the exception of the primary grass steppes, whose floor probably never displayed taller vegetation because of its sterility, was once covered by a lush lowland forest as is preserved in its finest form at present in the northern Kalahari and in the 'rain forest' of Victoria Falls."

101 [131] By the !Kung Bushmen in the narrower sense, who are divided into a northern group and an eastern group, I refer to those people who are located north of the police zone and south of the Okovanggo in the effluent region of the Omuramba u Owambo at the Löwenomuramba and on both sides of the lower and central Omuramba u Omatako. The groups in the source region of the Omuramba u Owambo have been studied by me in greater detail. 174 In former times, the !Kung undoubtedly lived much farther south and west. It is not improbable that they left the Grootfontein plain and the Otawi mountains under the pressure of the Hei//om, who in turn were forced out of the central region by the Herero. On the other side they undoubtedly gained space toward the south, for according to reports from the pre-war period, the Nogau were settled in the Sand Veld all the way to the vicinity of Otjituo, whereas today they have retreated behind Alexeck. 144 The racial composition of the !Kung Bushmen allows one to make a conclusion about their history. Among them we find a larger number of Europoid types than among the surrounding Bantu tribes. In addition, Austroloid influence is

! KUNG

/17 cont.7

144 obvious, and the southern Bushman race, that is, the one that
displays the characteristics generally ascribed to the Bushmen as
a whole, is found to be pure only to a modest degree which in-
137 creases toward the south. In the north, the !Kung Bushmen are
184 decidedly forest people, whereas in the Sand Veld they inhabit
the shadeless low bush. The surface of the region consists of
134 137 areas of whitish sand, red toward the east and north, which is
streaked with strips of surface chalk. Along the Omuramba
Omatako and parallel to it there are pseudo-dunes running north-northeast -- south-southwest and covered with dense thorn bushes. On the more clayey soils in the vicinity of the Omurambas /perhaps a local term for "rivers"7 there is denser tropical dry forest. A reminder of more humid times is provided by three or four giant baobab trees that are dying.

Ludwig Zukowsky (1) reports on the fauna and flora:

[113]

1. "Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Säugetiere Deutschsüdwestafrikas /Contribution to the Knowledge of the Mammals of German Southwest Africa7, " Archiv für Naturgeschichte, Vol. 90, No. 1, Part A, 1924.

137 [136] "The Kung Veldt, a large deciduous broad-leaf forest region, bounded in the north by the Okovanggo, in the east by this river's flood area, in the south by the Dusche and Schadum, and in the west by the lower course of the Omuramba u'Omatako, is regarded by J.H. Wilhelm as a special faunal region, since here the most striking representatives of the Sand Veld, oryx, oribi, bubalis, guevei /blue duiker7, and canis are absent and in their place new forms appear, such as damaliscus, schaeffia /?7, and hippotragus. Red sand dominates the entire region, which is covered with sereng /Burkea africana7, red bean trees /Copaifera coleosperma7, mokussi (Baikiaca plurijuga), yellowwood /Terminalia sericea7, dolf /Therocarpus erinaceus7, and wild orange trees (Strychnos schumanniana). During the rainy season, when the trees are covered with leaves, the deciduous forest that covers the entire region remotely resembles a younger German beech forest. The chief tree is the sereng (Burkea africana) with its accompanying tree, the mokussi

[17 cont.]

137 (Baikiaca plurijuga), which have particularly thick trunks along the banks (dunes) of the large Omurambas. Another common tree is the red bean tree (Copaifera coleosperma), the yellowwood (Terminalia sericea), sometimes in tree form, but more commonly in bush form as underbrush. In the northern part the Greesappelboom (Parinarium mobola) appears here and there, and, individually over the entire veld, the rattle tree or the wild orange (Strychnos schumanniana) and the dolf (Therocarpus erinaceus). The dunes of the Omurambas are covered not only with mokussi, but also with camel thorn trees (Acacia giraffa), hackie bushes (Acacia detinens), and another thorn bush (Acacia spec.). Between the large Omurambas, which extend to the flood area (Kaudum and Schadum), and between the Okovanggo and the Kaudum, there is a number of sometimes recognizable, sometimes overgrown Omurambas, such as Tschakaue, Gani, and north and south of the Kaudum, Tschaudum and Kuatschadum. The island-like appearance of Hyphaena ventricosa at the watering place Tschaudum is worthy of mention, 500 to 1,000 specimens occurring as isolated trees, as in the Grootfontein plain.
[133] In the entire region there are many hackie thorn bush islands and salt pans which have open water or water half a meter deep and are usually overgrown with reeds (Phragmites). The pasture is bad, with the exception of the Omuramba beds, which, like the Kaudum, for example, have a very high water level 20 to 50 centimeters deep. Long, hard grass or low leafy bush [Author: perhaps related to Dichopetalum venenatum (Machau), which occurs sporadically] is to be found here, whereas Bushman grass and knawel grass occur only among the thorn bushes. In the underbrush area there are species of Grewia. During the rainy season the ground is [18] covered with prickly cucumbers (Citrullus nausimonus), and onkies (Cyperus usitatus) grow under the hackie bushes. In addition, there are a great number of shrubs that bear a tasty bush crop during the rainy season. The baobab tree (Adansonia digitata), whose first representatives appear north of Dowigna in the Kaukau Veld, the morula tree (Sclerocaria schweinfurthiana), the manquetti tree (Ricinodendron rautannei), and the hartekohl tree (Combretum primigenium) are absent.
133 Pans of brackish water are absent; in their stead there are ef-
135 florescences of salt at various places in the Kaudum and Schadum.

[18 cont.]

134 The ground is covered with red sand (fox sand), which in the
thorn bush areas changes to a firm, grayish-yellow; perhaps
argillaceous sand. Chalk cliffs and other rocks are completely
lacking. The Kaudum bed is perpetually covered with dense
green grass. The sand pans have humous sand; only in the
northeast near Schamatura is a peat-like swampy soil to be found
with red, strongly ferruginous water. Forest fires are the order
of the day, but they do little damage to the tree growth."

133 South of the Omuramba u Owambo there is a fairly large
134 number of limestone pans, which in part still contain water but
are mostly dried up. The land there is drying up rapidly, according
to both the Bushmen and the Europeans. During the
rainy season the clayey soils are swampy, and at that time the
[136] dense bush forest is filled with myriads of mosquitoes, and
[164] malaria claims its victims from all races. The unhealthy situation,
648 the difficulty of getting workers, and the irregularity of
the rainfall have led to the abandonment of most of the farms
outside Grootfontein, so that the Bushmen have actually gained
ground there. The !Kung Bushmen outside the police zone live
entirely according to their old customs and traditions. The individual
[578] kin groups are in part hostile to one another. A kind
[619] of hereditary feud exists with the Hei//om, who are often attacked
because of the women. The !Kung live on good terms
with the farms along the northern boundary (Duwib, Keitsas,
Keibeb, Kuntsas, Neitsas, Foxhof). Many of them work there for
[464] certain periods of time, and quite a few permanently; in particular,
they like to let women and children work on the farms.
[177] Mr. Cleark, the owner of Keibeb, has trained a large number of
them to make charcoal. These Bushmen make the charcoal out
[439] in the wilderness and deliver it. It is then resold to the mottramite
mine in Abenab. Until the establishment of the police zone,
a perpetual state of war existed between the police and the
Bushmen. There are constant battles between the Herero of
Otjituo and the !Kung because of livestock thefts. The Herero
attack the Bushmen on horseback and kill them from the saddle
with the kirri.

The Bushmen, who are not accustomed to shooting at
rapidly moving targets, usually come out the losers. Like the

[18 cont.]

648 Nogau, the !Kung who are settled in the Sand Veld east of the Omuramba u Omatako are more hostile toward the Whites, and the attitude of the Whites and natives on the farms is correspondingly hostile toward them. This attitude is explained by the fact that only in recent times the Bushmen were forced out of the region west of the Omuramba and now have considerably reduced the scant living space of their brothers east of the dry bed. The living conditions in this region are hopeless. The !Kung live in symbiosis with the tribes along the Okovanggo. Lacking a stable social organization, lacking fixed dwellings in the narrower sense, the Bushmen is much less manageable than, say, the black farmers. Making the tribe collectively responsible, which is the best protection for the European, cannot be used against the Bushmen, and the likelihood of seizing a Bushman who has committed a crime on the edge of the police zone or outside it is zero. One must keep this in mind in dealing with them. On the other hand, I had no bad experiences with them.

[19] The Biological Bases of Life

1. The Number

161 Seiner has estimated the number of the !Kung at about 12,000. Since then, the wars of 1914-15, as well as the steady deterioration of the water conditions, have strongly curbed any increase, so that their number has certainly not risen in the last 20 years.

621 The basic social unit is the essentially patriarchal family horde, which on the average consists of one or two old men, four to six adult men, an equal number of women capable of bearing children, and a number of old matrons, as well as the
221 children. Toward the end of the winter they assemble in great
621 numbers at the few remaining watering places; they then meet again when the first veldkost ripens at certain places, frequently several hundreds of them; and then, when summer sets in, they again move in small groups to their family terrain. As examples,
162 I shall give four hordes for which I was able to determine the

!KUNG

[19 cont.]

approximate ages of the members:

162

	Horde I	Horde II	Horde III	Horde IV
Men	9	7	4	10
Old men	--	--	4	1
Women of child-bearing age	10	12	13	9
Matrons	4	9	7	6
Infants	6	6	7	2
Small children:				
Boys 1-4 years old	2	3	8	3
Girls 1-4 years old	3	4	6	1
Children:				
Boys 5-10 years old	4	4	?	?
Girls 5-10 years old	3	2	?	?
Young men	5	--	?	?
Young women	5	3	?	?

The above table thus has reference to 44 women capable of bearing children and to 38 marriages, of which two are polygamous. Four are widows. In these 38 marriages, there are 15 infants, mostly under one year old. To the extent it could be determined, 12 women were pregnant, and about five of them had
[842] older infants. It would seem, then, that nursing beyond one year
[853] affords no practical protection against a new conception.

833
183
The rule among the Nog-au that cohabitation with the mother may be renewed only when the baby is able to sit is well known, but it is not particularly observed.

165 With these 15 infants there should accordingly be 45 small children from one to four years old; in actual fact, however, there are only 30 small children, which gives an infant mortality rate of 33 per cent. This rate is no higher than is to be expected among primitive tribes in malaria regions; in fact, it is lower than in some native locations, such as East London.

!KUNG

/19 cont./

162 165 In the age group of five to ten years, the number remains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number [123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

/20/ Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in

[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman [131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief 133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika /Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa/, Berlin, 1906.

648 621 622 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself,
who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the
Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year
1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive
help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive
to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is
placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the
body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a
tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as
a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the
Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all
they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When
they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick
tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and
smoke it'" (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions
131 of this tribe:

"The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

!KUNG

[20 cont.]

101 131 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposedly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are [648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the [631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief, the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notorious Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi- [197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do [342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in [301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh [827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron [411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations [114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

!KUNG

/21 cont./

157 them thought of asking a question about it. The Bushmen of
today at least do not believe that any kind of magic is concealed
[177] in the Europeans' machines. They learn to use European instruments
fairly quickly; in particular, they soon become familiar
with the rifle. Dornan reported that there was a large number
of improvised rifles that the Bushmen had adapted. In a new
environment, the Bushman is wholly self-possessed and coolly
[648] observant. He is highly adaptable. The girls, of whom a number
are kept by farmers as concubines, are quite skillful at
[177] housekeeping. In Ovamboland they quickly adopt the living
habits and economic activities of the Bantu. An Ongandjera
Bushman acts as an instructor at the teacher's college in Oonipa.
He owns a small kraal that is well-maintained in Ovambo fashion
and, in addition, has built himself a round hut of tiles in which
[648] he keeps his "library." They seldom stay long on the farms, but
[147] probably in the main because the food does not agree with them.
609 The Bushmen are most distrustful of other people. Every armed
person whom they encounter is regarded from the outset as an
enemy. The Bushman is allowed to enter the regions of other tribes
only if he is unarmed. Even along the edge of the farm zone
the mutual distrust is so great that a Bushman who has been sent
to a farm as a messenger dares not leave the road, which is
regarded as a neutral zone, if another kin group has settled in
the vicinity. If two armed Bushmen who are strangers approach
each other, they disarm at first sight before they greet each
other. When a Bushman comes to a village or to a farmhouse,
he will put down his arms at a certain distance and sit down to
wait patiently, if need be for hours, until he is questioned. A
186 609 distinct sense of race is not apparent. Everything that does not
belong to one's own kin group is regarded as strange, even
hostile, except when common persecution causes a sense of
solidarity to spring up among all those who are persecuted. At
the same time, they very clearly possess a kind of sense of
humanity as a whole, that is, they do not believe that they are
the only people, and they are convinced, for example, that the
people of all races are received in the heavenly house. Their
602 conduct toward relatives is regulated by numerous customs, but
in general it is formal and almost ceremonial, even toward the
[593] wife and children. The Bushman is never importunate.
[157]

! KUNG

[21 cont.]

648 The Bushmen as a whole are despised by the other peoples, but in individual cases they are feared, and not least by the Whites. The Bushmen are familiar with this attitude and conduct themselves accordingly.

797 177 The Bushmen accept a foreign point of view only with great difficulty, if at all. The mission, accordingly, can show no noteworthy success among them. On the other hand, they 157 usually grasp the intentions of others more quickly than the ordinarily more superficial Blacks. Consequently, they give brief and precise answers to the questions put to them. When asked questions that they do not want to answer, they remain silent. At the same time, in dealings with them one should note that they tire very quickly when they have to do mental work, and then they will not answer further questions, not because they do not want to, but because they are too tired.

181 [574] 609 The Bushmen are not generous. Nevertheless, allowing a stranger to partake of a meal, as well as giving him some of the available water, is wholly matter-of-course with them. [431] They very rarely, however, give any of their personal belongings, weapons, ornaments, hides, and so forth, as presents. If they themselves receive presents, they are obviously delighted. (181) It is true that they do not express their gratitude with words, 577 [22] but anyone who does the Bushmen a kindness may be sure that they will manifest their gratitude by deeds to the point of self-sacrifice.

To help a fellow human being who is in trouble is a moral obligation. There is a report of a prospector who lost his [648] way in the bush forest and was then saved by the Bushmen, with whom he could not even converse; they took care of him for several days and finally put him on the right path.

Agreements and promises are kept unconditionally by the Bushman, although it is true that he usually arrives a little too late. Once, when an ox from the ox-cart of the Catholic mission had to be left behind on the way to the Okovanggo, it was put in the care of the Bushmen and they were to deliver it at the time of the next full moon. The people kept their word, and the ox was delivered, well-fed, at the specified time.

As a comrade, the Bushman is reliable and faithful (1).

181 648 1. A European had once illegally

/22 cont./

181
648 appropriated a number of little trees and planted them in front of his house. On one occasion when he was in town with his Bushmen, the original owner of the trees declared that in the afternoon he was going to see about it. The Bushmen heard this and disappeared. When the two Whites came to the farm, the little trees had disappeared. The Bushmen had run ahead and had hurriedly removed them on their own initiative.

181 The Bushmen are at all times courageous and steadfast people, characteristics which, indeed, their very way of life would produce.

831 The Bushmen strictly avoid talking about sexual matters [864] in the presence of women and children. Just as in general they are a people without imagination, they do not have any form of the more subtle erotic phantasies.

The endless obscene stories that one hears from the Blacks as soon as he has gained their confidence are unknown among the Bushmen.

The sexual element is absent in their religious celebrations, [535] but it finds expression in many of their dances, which imitate the love play of animals.

834 On the whole, their sense of modesty cannot be denied, even though, naturally, they do not have such decent forms of conduct as the genteel Bantu, among whom it is regarded as extremely improper to look at the breasts of the women. The [516] girls and women never sit in the typical squatting position, but rather sit on the ground with the legs crossed.

[576] Although the life of the Bushmen within the encampment is openly in view, those principles that we regard as natural tact are nonetheless observed.

[514] The Bushman performs his necessities at all times out of sight of the others, and love scenes are never enacted in public.

114
124 It is naturally very difficult to learn anything more precise concerning the more intimate details of sexual life

!KUNG

[22 cont.]

114 without compromising oneself. Only old people are suitable
124 informants, since they are no longer eager for renown.

In view of the hard life that the people lead, sexuality,
831 naturally, is not excessively developed. Perverse manipulations are evidently unknown, since my informants did not even understand questions on this subject.

833 Normal sexual intercourse is usually performed in the
bush during the time between the evening meal and the rising
271 of the moon. Long periods of thirst result in almost total im-
147 potence.

157 Despite all the formality, they have an unbridled
578 temperament which frequently expresses itself in violent emotional explosions over trivial affairs, which then may easily lead to serious consequences since the poisoned arrow is always at hand. For example, I was told the following story: A Bushman worked on a farm for quite a long time and, with his belly fat from eating maize, came to visit his thin companions. His brother made fun of him for being so fat, saying that he could not run any more, whereupon the fat one retorted: "Just the same, I'll live longer than you." After this brief exchange of words, the scrawny brother stabbed the fat one. -- A film com-
157 pany once wanted to make a film among the !Kung who are
648 settled behind Keibeb; the film was to be called: "When the First Whites Came into the Land." The chief of this horde had a [23] pair of old German military trousers as an emblem of his office and when he was requested to take them off, he responded with the declaration that he would take off his trousers only if the White did the same, whereupon he received a box on the ears that put him and his companions in such a rage that the film company preferred to depart in order to avoid a catastrophe.
157 That they can also be quick at repartee is shown by the following story which was repeatedly told to me by Europeans: A Bushman had been accused of poaching. The magistrate asked him: "Don't you know that these animals belong to the king (royal game)?" The Bushman answered: "I saw no 'brand' (property mark)."

As a chief or family head, the Bushman is bossy and
[593] unyielding, which is understandable in view of the rigidity of his whole conception of life. The sick Bushmen lie silent and

! KUNG

[753] 157 [23 cont.] THE SICK BUSHMEN LIE SILENT AND patient, but a case of illness in a village upsets all its members, partly out of compassion, and partly out of fear of the spirits of sickness. The modes of conduct that I have described already permit certain conclusions concerning the structure of the psychological personality among the Bushmen. It is certainly impossible to compare the mental set of an intellectualized, highly domesticated European with that of these primitive hunters. There is absolutely no difference, however, between the simple European and the natives in their conception of life and their manner of 105 182 reacting to environmental influences. As I have already explained in another place, we may speak of a law of inertia in cultural development (1). The primitive man is perfectly aware, perhaps instinctively, perhaps by tradition, that the quantity of energy possessed by every individual is limited and that each expenditure of energy means wear on the life machine and, hence, the shortening of life. The individual, therefore, strives to attain, with the least possible expenditure of energy, what to his mind represents an optimal adaptation to the conditions of life, and to maintain this state of adaptation with the least possible expenditure of energy. The great difference between European civilization and many primitive cultures, including that of the Bushmen, lies in the fact that European culture as a whole finds itself in an unstable condition, which makes the attainment of an optimal state of adaptation possible to only a few of its members. Bushman culture, on the other hand, represents an optimal state of adaptation that can be automatically attained by each individual Bushman. In its way, therefore, it is more perfect than ours. No other people and no other race, given the same technical means and the same environmental conditions, could achieve a better adaptation. One can even speak of such an adaptation with respect to the spiritual culture. The life of the Bushman is made secure in this life

---

1. V. Lebzelter, "Persönlichkeit und Weltanschauung bei den Eingeborenen Südwestafrikas Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Leogesellschaft, 1932.

!KUNG

[23 cont.]

105 and in the beyond by his traditional conceptions, and the preserva-
182 tion of this adaptation, in the spiritual as well as in the material realm, is achieved by means of a strict selection of all the cultural goods offered from the outside. This selection is consciously carried out. Put briefly: the Bushmen have hitherto refused higher
[177] economic forms not because they do not possess the ability to handle them, but because they did not want to adopt them. If the material preconditions collapse, then they adopt, step by step or all at once, totally different ways of life, as is shown by their Bantuization in Ovamboland and probably also by the formation of the Hottentot people through the adoption of livestock raising on the part of a number of Bushman tribes. Their average intelli-
[153] gence is no less than that of any other race. Every Bushman knows
[184] the entire spiritual heritage of his tribe.

Of the same Bushmen, F. Schinz (2) says:

[113] 2. F. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Leipzig, 1891.

181 "The Bushman is always faithful to his master and will follow him anywhere without pay; one need not worry about leaving him alone at the wagon and will rarely have to reprimand him for dishonesty. All travelers and hunters unanimously praise
[593] the great affection that exists between parents and children, which goes so far that the father or mother will sacrifice themselves in order to save their child. I was told [24] by the hunter L. that at the Okovanggo he once witnessed a scene in which a young Bushman, who was one of the members of the hunting expedition, was in danger of being trampled to death by an angry elephant that stormed toward him. At the last moment when his paralyzed companions had already given the boy up for lost, his father sprang forth and flung his throwing club at the forehead of the enormous animal. The elephant now turned against his new attacher and furiously crushed him under his feet, giving the son the opportunity to flee."

[114] My observations are fully in accord with those of Dornan (1)

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

!KUNG

[24 cont.]

181 He states:

181 593 "It has been asserted that the Bushmen have no feeling for one another. I have frequently heard it said that the mothers are cruel to their children and occasionally kill them when their burden becomes too great. As far as I can see, this is untrue. I have frequently seen Bushman mothers kiss their little ones, exactly as European women do, and when the children are ill, they go to all kinds of trouble. The fathers, it is true, are frequently gruff and rough, but never brutal to their children. The girls are usually seen in company with their mothers, the boys with the men. Between mother and daughter there is an intimate relationship of 181 trust. It has also been asserted that Bushmen are ungrateful; this is also quite untrue. They show their feeling of gratitude neither to one another nor to the Whites, but anyone who gains their trust through kindness can tell that they are indeed grateful. They show their gratitude not by words but by deeds. If someone is in need or in distress and a Bushman friend is in the vicinity, the latter will stay by him to the bitter end."

The !Kung Bushman in particular is much more a rational than a sentimental person. The extraordinary difficulty that he encounters in obtaining his livelihood makes him extremely independent in his thinking. It was surprising to see the sureness with [124] which not only men but women, too, were able to act as interpreters. Whereas among the Bantu it is difficult to keep the conversation on the subject, the Bushman always sticks to the point. Even the tribal traditions, insofar as superstitious conceptions are concerned, are not safe from the skepticism of the individual. For instance, I once asked a number of Bushmen whether they hunt lions. They [775] answered in the negative, and when I said that this was probably [771] because the lions harbored the spirits of eminent deceased Bushmen, they laughed and said that this was just a tale of the Hei//om Bushmen and some Bushman doctors who had learned this from them. Other men of the same tribe, on the other hand, were firmly convinced that the spirits of great Bushmen doctors reside in the lions.

181 771 There are also many stories about bush spirits, especially in the Otjimpolo Veld. My informants repeatedly observed, however, that they did not know whether there was any truth in them, because They had never seen any.

[24 cont.]

600 522 161 they had never seen any. A certain dry humor spiced their conversation. I once said to a Bushman: "If you tell me this, you will get whatever you want." He answered: "Good, I shall speak and you will give me your automobile." 157 123 Their imagination is very poor; in this respect they are much too accurate as observers of nature. Once a young Bushman woman with two children came to me and wanted to buy some sugar. I said to her: "I won't sell you anything, but you will get the sugar if you tell me some children's stories, for example, about animals." After some hesi-[538]tation she began the story of Arri, the guinea hen. It was no fairy tale, but a detailed account concerning this important food bird. She even imitated the calls of the guinea hen, "for example, when someone comes and there is danger, then they say, '*gannana he gannana he*,' but when they are alone and enjoying themselves, then they go '*gi gi gi*.'" The children had to imi-[861]tate this until they were able to mimic the sound accurately. Then it was the turn of the sand hen, which says, "*gi ganna gi ganna*"; then the ostrich, which goes, "*hmm, hmm, hmm*"; then the gum bird [*Harzvogel*], which says, "*hai-dschi, hai-dschi*," and the owl, "*mhm, m*."

3. Posture, Movement, Stamina

516 As a result of his marked lordosis, the Bushman never assumes a posture that would conform to our military ideal; he almost always stands with his stomach somewhat protruding.

481 The way the Bushmen run is very peculiar and would justify detailed study. [25] The run is really a continuous fast walk, in which the legs are kicked forward, but the lower thighs are never brought back high, as is the case with our runners. The body is held as straight as possible, and the head up, not forward (1).

---

[113] 1. E. v. Eickstedt (*Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit* [Ethnology and History of Mankind], p. 556) states: "The foot is put in a peculiar transverse position, which makes the track in the sand easily

!Kung

[25 cont.]

481 recognizable -- a characteristic that during the old Bushman persecutions cost many thousands of these unfortunate and peculiar hominid creatures their miserable existence. The walk of the Sanides is also peculiar; they do not walk, they prance. Out of habit they always raise their knees and feet as though they were walking among the sharp grasses and thorn bushes of their homeland. This, like the swaying walk of sailors, is of course, a secondary, acquired characteristic, not a racial one."

I prefer, nevertheless, to regard the walk of the Bushmen as somewhat racially conditioned.

516 The sitting position of the Bushman is the squatting position that is practiced by so many primitive peoples and was probably at one time universal among mankind. At the same time, their position differs from that of the Blacks, insofar as the latter usually squat in such a way that the bones of the ischium do not touch the ground, whereas this is the case among the Bushmen. As a result, when they squat, they bend their backs quite far and must spread their legs apart.

513 When sleeping, the Bushman lies rolled up on his right or left side. The children all cuddle up to the mother to sleep.
147 The muscle power of the Bushmen is very weak. The dynamometric measurements that I carried out show that the pushing power of adult men is less than that of European working women; it only amounts to between 30 and 40 kilograms, whereas European women achieve approximately 60 kilograms, men engaged in light work average 80 kilograms, and European heavy workers and the smiths among us reach an average of 120 and more kilograms. Black heavy workers attain an average of only 80 kilograms. Thus, the Black on the average is twice as strong as a Bushman, and the White is three times as strong.

At the same time, there is no essential difference between the sexes among the Bushmen themselves.

!KUNG

[25 cont.]

147 481 Similarly, the strength displayed by the Bushmen in using the bow is by no means impressive. While their momentary efficiency is low, their endurance in marching is great. In 1916 when the farmer Schwarz in Neudesenberg (Keitsas) was sick with black water fever, the farmer's wife sent a Bushman to Grootfontein for a bottle of champagne. The man left in the forenoon and returned around midnight. The distance was at least 100 to 120 kilometers, for the highway, which has few detours, is 90 kilometers long. (Informant: Farmer Schwarz in Duwib.)

4. Physical Types and Constitution

142 The Bushmen are a distinctly human type of savage with very gracile bone structure. A group of them that I designate as South Khoin is the only form of human being adapted to desert life, or in any case is the form best adapted to it.

The type that has developed there can in no way be subsumed in our physical type schema. Since this same type to a considerable degree is also involved in the composition of the northern forest Bushmen, there are naturally a great many individuals whom we cannot classify at all in our sense. At any rate, however, we can -- and here I am anticipating some of my anthropological conclusions -- differentiate among both sexes of the !Kung a longitype and a brachytype. Especially among the women it is almost always possible to differentiate the "chubby youthful form" from the so-called future form.

In another place I have defended the view that the athletic type should be regarded as the true normal-type, and that this type has the innate ability to accumulate a moderate amount of fat. The muscular-respiratory type with a slighter development of the skeleton and musculature does not possess the ability for a great accumulation of fat, whereas the digestive type with slightly developed musculature has a great ability to accumulate fat.

[26] From the athletic type a continuous series leads through the respiratory and digestive forms to the tall-asthenic and short-asthenic types and from there to the decided weaklings.

[26 cont.]

142 The athletic type thus represents the best realization of the human type among the races.

Since, from the day of conception on, environmental influences are predominantly of a harmful nature, the average type finally arrived at is the type formed by the average harmful effects, which, on the one hand, are of a hereditary and constitutional nature, and, on the other hand, are conditional effects during the individual's lifetime. The more unfavorable the living conditions are, the greater will be the harmful effect coefficient, and the more the average physical type will approach the asthenic. Only environmental improvement, brought about by high civilization, permits athletic forms to develop in considerable numbers.

According to our schema, we may designate the Bushmen as asthenic on the average, and the best developed among them as respiratory. [146] In the case of many male individuals, there is an ability for considerable fat accumulation, and on the farms I encountered a number of Bushmen who had adapted themselves to a flour diet and had considerable body weight.

The digestive type thus certainly does occur among them, [146] even though we must keep in mind that the diet, which is rich in meat and poor in carbohydrates, counteracts its development.

5. The Course of the Day

805 The !Kung Bushmen divide the 24 hour day into seven segments, which are: [192]

/gam X'ắ-o-a, dawn.
/gam do di /gii, time of sunrise.
!nai↘ /kho, (the sun) is in the middle.
ha ti ≠náu, (the sun) will go down.
X'ắ-o ti ≠nắu, the sun is now asleep.
/gu gǎ djo-o, one can no longer see the people because it is dark.
!a ds ĩ, midnight.

512 The division of the day varies somewhat with the season of the year. With the exception of the so-called hot season,

!KUNG

[26 cont.]

512 from about August 20th to the end of December, the following daily routine is normally observed. Before dawn, it becomes very cold, the people wake up, and the boys stir up the fire and put on it the remains of the evening meal. The old people move closer to the fire and go on sleeping until the sun comes up. Then they have their breakfast, which consists of the remains of the [462] evening meal. The able men now go hunting. The women continue to sit around the fire for awhile and nurse their children. [462] At about 10 o'clock the women and children, as well as the girls, go out in a group to look for veldkost. Almost every woman [482] old enough to bear children carries a child on her back, while a second child often rides on her shoulders. The smaller boys stay at home and help the old people, who get up about an hour later [361] to fetch water. The huts are never located close to the water: 1. because people get sick close to the water; 2. because the lions come there; 3. because the game would be frightened away. The watering place itself is visited quite irregularly, because in disturbed times the enemy lurks there, and occasionally also the police. The male and female doctors go into the bush, usually not very far, alone or only with a disciple, to gather medicine. Around four o'clock in the afternoon the women come back and begin to cook. Around this time, too, the men begin to return with the spoils of the hunt. When the sun goes down, [264] they all sit by the fire and eat. Each family has its own fire. Then some will continue to chat for awhile, while others go to sleep, and gradually it becomes quiet.

[264] They do not eat at noon. From eleven to four o'clock the camp is deserted, and even the old people sleep somewhere in the forest. The hunters and the women collecting veldkost also [27] take a long midday rest during the hot afternoon hours. During the hot season, on the other hand, they set out soon after midnight to hunt and search for veldkost, because later in the day the sand is too hot to walk on.

6. The Divisions of the Year

805 The Bushmen reckon time according to full moons, for example, agreeing to meet after three or four full moons, and

[27 cont.]

805 the like, but they have only ten months. They name them after terrestrial phenomena.

!Kai dsa̋a	It is cold (winter)	June
gama /ẽi	The grass burns	July-August
!hoa̋ sori	It is hot	September-October
!u shē	The rain begins	November
≠khǒ shē	The trees bloom	December
/hō //gāi	It is raining	January
!Khan //gai	The veldkost is coming up	February
!na̋ -mâ	The veldkost is ripe	March
ao ré //kum //ka̋	The rain is stopping	April
!hoa̋ //gai	The year is at an end	May

They reckon also from harvest to harvest.

221 The most beautiful time in the life of the Bushman is March and April. Even those who live on the farms hurry into the wilderness at that time. At certain places where there are many fruit trees, such as the marula, the friendly kin groups gather from far and wide. Here the young men look for brides, and there is much dancing, because at this time the women are not tired from seeking veldkost which is now to be found everywhere. Hunting yields less at this time, since the game has water and pasture everywhere.

Soon, however, the leaves fall, the bush forest becomes red and yellow, the migratory birds fly northward, and then the first cold nights set in. Now the "Dsao" (spirits of sickness) come and [753] bring sickness to the chest. At the end of May and the beginning of July [sic] the first frosts set in. Now the Bushmen move to the watering places, which stay open for a long time. The nights now [374] become torture. Burns on the skin of the chest and abdomen oc- [513] cur frequently, because the Bushmen now lie very close to the fire to sleep. Around this time, some of the kin groups already begin to suffer distress, because the game moves to other regions where there is still some pasture. In July the grass is finally dry [224] enough so that it can be set afire. Now the entire steppe burns. The young grass again attracts the game; hunting improves. The hot season is the worst period; the resting places of the game are quite uncertain, veldkost becomes increasingly scant, and the

[27 cont.]
221 Bushmen shrink to miserable skeletons. Many of them at this
[648] time[1] run to the Blacks or Whites in order to earn something. In
[731] dry years no attention is paid to the kin group boundaries. All
[423] gather around the few water holes that are still open. As soon
as the rain begins, conditions start to improve; the people start moving out in various directions, not to meet again until several months later at the time of the veldkost harvest here and there.

7. The Course of Life

584 I shall render in literal translation the account that my informant gave of the way a young man courts a girl:

If a young man wants to marry a girl, he must first speak to her and say: "I love you and want to marry you." If the girl is willing, she says first: "You must wait." Then she goes to her parents and asks them whether they have heard that the boy has spoken to her. The parents then ask whether the girl wants to marry the man. [28] If the girl says, "Yes," then the parents say, "He wants you; he has seen that you are good and hard-working; you may marry." If, however, the young man has thought the matter over and takes back his words, the girl goes to her parents once more, and the boy to his. The latter say: "You wanted it this way; nothing can be done about it." In case the girl definitely gives her consent, however, the young man brings all kinds of little presents and gives them to his future bride, who takes them to her parents. The parents-in-law must now in turn give presents. With the exchange of presents, the
[583] marriage is regarded as legally concluded.

[114] The hunting test described by Passarge (1) and others is not the rule. Some vain girls demand it, and sometimes young men will voluntarily go through with it in order to beat his rivals. This hunting test is carried out in the following manner. The boy goes hunting without weapons and pursues the game (as a rule,

---

224
584 1. Passarge, Die Buschmänner der Kalahari,
[113] 1907.

1 [i.e. The hot season -- Analyst]

!KUNG

[28 cont.]

224 a gemsbok) until it is tired and then drives it to the vicinity of
584 the hut of his intended. The pursuit of such a large antelope is
not as difficult as it looks, for these ruminants are seized with
serious cramps if they are not given time to settle down to ruminate.
In other words, the pursuit of such a large antelope simply
involves continually disturbing the animal for a long period of
time. Then the young man calls to the people and asks them for
weapons. All of them leap up, and the girl, too, stands up and
watches as her people run with the spears. The hunter kills the
game before her eyes. Then they bring the meat and cook it,
and the girl says: "That is a courageous hunter; I want to marry
584 him." It is not unusual, however, for a young man to marry far
away from his relatives, without having asked for the consent of
his parents. In that case, the young woman must stay with her
parents while the husband returns home and reports the marriage
to his parents. The latter say: "How can you do this, when we
don't know whether it will turn out all right?" The husband,
however, says: "I have already done it, and I am merely telling
you." Thereupon the parents answer: "Well, it's all right."
[591] Then the husband returns to his young wife, or to her kin group
and brings his wife and child to his own kin group, where they are
received. According to Vedder (Tsumeb), the young man sends
a messenger with a piece of game to the father of the girl of his
choice. If the father accepts the game, the betrothal is regarded
583 as concluded. As soon as the youth moves to the encampment of
591 his father-in-law, the marriage is regarded as concluded. He
[585] must work for a year for his father-in-law and deliver all hunting
spoils to him, but he may not enter the hut of his parents-in-law.
Once the first child is born, he moves with wife and child to his
kin group.

585
535 Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report on the conclusion of a marriage:

"There is much dancing. The animal dances have a pervasive erotic element. In one of the first dances the bridegroom

---

[113] 2. Von Zastrow and Vedder, "Die Buschmänner," p. 417, in Schultze-Ewarth, Das Eingeborenenrecht, Vol. II.

[28 cont.]

535 makes his appearance as the bull of some animal species that the
585 two kin groups especially prize. He takes his place in the row of dancing men. Across from them the women have taken up their position in a long row and accompany the dance by stamping, singing, and clapping their hands. The bride stands among them. She is in no way distinguished from the other women and girls. After a few turns, the bridegroom steps out of the row of men, goes dancing toward the bride, seizes her, and dances back again. The bride then comes from the row of women, clapping her hands, stamping, and singing as she moves toward the bridegroom; without touching him, she turns back, keeping her face turned toward the bridegroom, and rejoins the row of female dancers. With this, the external formality of concluding the marriage in front of many witnesses is over.

583 "It is the young man's duty, however, to leave his paternal
591 kin group for a year and to work for his parents-in-law. This means that any spoils he gets from hunting must be left in his mother-in-law's hut. He, of course, gets his piece during the distribution of the meat, but he is not yet regarded as the actual provider for his young wife, who, as before, receives her share of the meat from her mother, although she searches for veldkost for herself and her husband.

(224) "As a hunter, the man eats only the flesh of the rump.
262 The women and children receive the legs and intestines. Children are not allowed to eat certain parts; for example, a child may
[825] not eat the heart of a jackal. The child would not become sick
[828] by doing so, but since the jackal is very cowardly, the child would also become cowardly.

591 [29] "After the first year of marriage with its obligatory service, the young wife follows her husband to the encampment where the man's father or his kin group resides.

845 "If the child is so weak that it probably will not live,
847 or if it has a physical defect, it is buried alive on the same day, with or without the consent of the father and mother.

553 "The name of the child is given by the father. This is
852 done a few days after birth. The father spits on the child's chest and calls it by name. Others sprinkle it with water from a well.

!KUNG

[29 cont.]

553 852 The custom of spitting is undoubtedly original, not a substitute for well water."

551 The father gives his newborn child a name. The boys usually receive animal names, commonly that of the grandfather, and the girls, plant names. Albinos are unknown among the !Kung [142] tribes visited by me, but a horde of Bushmen with red eyes is supposed to live in the eastern Sand Veld in the region of the [845] Dussidum. I have never seen twins; they are probably done away with. 853 The children are breast fed for a long time; older infants learn to squeeze the milk out of the breast with their fingers or pull with their teeth on the leathery nipples. The assertion of 847 other travelers that the women kill their children if they are born [114] before the previous child has been weaned is allegedly not true of the kin groups visited by me. On the other hand, Vedder (1)

[113] 1. "Zur Vorgeschichte der eingeborenen Völkerschaften von Südwestafrika. I. Die Buschmänner [On the Prehistory of the Native Tribes of Southwest Africa]," by V. Vedder, Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society, Vol. I, p. 10, 1925-1926, Windhoek, 1927. -- Cf. also Von Zastrow and H. Vedder, op. cit., p. 414.

reports:

"I must mention one other custom which likewise considerably contributes, and may have contributed in prehistoric times, to the Bushmen being so few in number. Custom demands that a child born when the older child of the same mother is not yet three years old be buried alive. This is a gruesome custom. I spoke about it with a racially pure Bushman. My remonstrances did not convince him at all. He explained: 'We Bushmen are poor people. We have no goats and no cows to give our children milk. If the woman brings two children into the world within a period of three years, we don't know what the older child is supposed to live on if the newborn child uses up the mother's milk. It cannot live on the hard veldkost or on tough meat. The teeth are not yet strong enough. If we let the newborn

[29 cont.]

847 child live, the older child would have to die. We are left with
the choice of killing one of the children so that one can stay
alive.' The explanation is absolutely convincing. There is the
[543] added consideration that the Bushman mothers lose their maternal
instincts when they see that a child is not thriving. I saw a six-
month-old Bushman child, a really pitiful figure. The mother
did not have sufficient food for her child. My wife offered to
give the child the bottle. The proposal was joyfully accepted.
For a few days, the child was brought at the specified times. It
gladly took the bottle. But then the mother felt that her freedom
was restricted. After all, she had to remain in the vicinity of the
house for the sake of the child. She did not lack food at all. I
provided for her. The desire for veldkost was too great, however,
and the child was brought only in the morning and evening and
received his meal. Naturally, no noticeable improvement could
be observed. Hence, at an opportune occasion the mother disap-
peared, and when she reappeared, she was without the child. She
and her friends had buried it alive."

853 Matters are certainly not always as hopeless as Vedder
describes them. First of all, at a very early age the children
are given pre-chewed veldkost, and, secondly, the women of the
kin group help one another out with the breast feeding. During
854 the day the infant stays in a hide sack on the mother's back, and
at night the children sleep at the mother's breast; the smallest lies
directly at the breast, while during the cold season the others
cuddle around the mother's legs. From earliest childhood, the
867 children are taught to honor the old people and not to take any-
thing away from anyone. For the boys, the father soon carves a
bow and arrow, for the girls a little digging stick. Nothing is
said to little children when they take things, but once the boy has
been given a bow, he may not touch anyone else's bow and arrow;
otherwise he gets a beating. The boys greatly fear the women.
868 The bigger boys stay together by themselves and go hunting for
857 small game or accompany adults on the hunt for large game.

Marriage is absolutely indissoluble. Separation is also
586 impossible, for outside the kin group the woman would perish in
the wilderness. So far as I have observed, the relationship between
593 marriage partners is in general very good, and not uncommonly the

[29 cont.]
.593 men are strongly influenced by their wives. It practically never
[562] happens that a man beats his wife. Monogamy [30] is the rule.
595 I know of one single case of a man having two sisters as wives. It
is true that certain marriage laws frequently force the men to
marry considerably older girls. It is therefore understandable that
in such circumstances the desire for a younger life's companion
frequently arises, but the consent of the first wife is absolutely
necessary. It is said: "He who has a good wife may have several;
he who has a bad one must be content with her alone." The Bushmen
842 do not know any means of preventing pregnancy, and, accordingly,
very soon after marriage the young wife will find herself
843 with child. The husband and his sisters-in-law must see to it that
she eats no sour veld fruit, nothing sweet, and no fat meat. No
one is allowed to walk behind the pregnant woman's back; no pot
is supposed to be put on the fire until the woman has been rubbed
with the soot of the pot; she is not supposed to sit where the other
844 people are, but must stay to one side. When the time for delivery
approaches, she must step over the legs of her husband, who has
rubbed medicine into incisions in his calves. When the woman
feels that the birth pangs are beginning, she goes into the bush by
herself and looks for veldkost. She is not supposed to sit down while
doing so, because that would have harmful effects on the birth.
Then she picks grass, prepares a place under a tree, puts her bag
of veldkost to one side, and gives birth to the child in a squatting
position, grasping a branch with her hands. Then she takes the
child, severs the umbilical cord herself, puts it in her veldkost bag,
and goes home with it. The cord is always severed with a quartz
knife (as among the Dama). The umbilical cord (!nḿ) is buried.
Only women who are unafraid and who have already given birth to
one child follow this procedure. A woman who is giving birth for
the first time and is afraid does not go into the veld, but stays at
home. As soon as the pains begin, she weeps and goes out, sits
down, and stands up again. Older women of the kin group accompany
her, and in their presence the child is finally born inside the
hut. The men may not be present. Children, too, may not look
on, and if they creep up out of curiosity, they are soundly thrashed.
[845] If there are difficulties, the abdomen is massaged. Von Zastrow
000

!KUNG

[30 cont.] VON ZASTROW

113
1
and Vedder (1) report further:

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Buschmänner, pp. 412-413.

843
754
"It is absolutely against the rules to do anything by word or deed to the pregnant woman that might make her angry. Her evil eye in this period is especially dangerous; her angry word or her curse has an even worse effect. Sores, illness, protracted suffering, and death are the consequences of the evil eye or the curse of a pregnant woman.

844
"It is customary to sever the umbilical cord with an instrument only when the blood no longer pulsates. The umbilical cord is not tied off. The afterbirth must be carefully and secretly buried. The life of the child would be greatly endangered if an animal found it or if a feared sorcerer could appropriate a piece of it."

881
As soon as the girls have their first menstruation (/n) (2),

2. Female genitalia (/n-i).

a celebration takes place, but in this tribe I was unable to learn any of the details. On this occasion, the women dance, clap their hands, and sing, "giriri, giriri, giriri, uhu, giriri uhu," and so forth.

Men may not be present at this celebration. In a Hei//om horde neighboring the !Kung, spirits are appealed to in all directions on the occasion of this celebration, so that the girl, as an adult, will find veldkost everywhere.

The existence of a true initiation for boys is denied (3).

[114]
[124]
3. On this point I was either misunderstood or told a falsehood.

There is merely a kind of testing; an older man goes with the candidate or candidates on a hunting expedition. Under the supervision of the older person, the candidate must kill a specimen of large game. The animal is then brought to the sacred fire, at which the

[30 cont.]

881 old people are seated. The young man may not eat any of the
meat; he may only drink the soup, which is also rubbed on him.
From now on he is regarded as an adult, a marriageable man;
582
584 his parents ask him whether he wants to be married. The boy
commonly replies: "I am still weak and do not know whether I
can take good care of her." Then the parents allow him to wait
until he himself wants to marry. Von Zastrow and Vedder (p.
415) report the following concerning the boys' initiation:

[31] "On this occasion the boys are told how they must
881 conduct themselves when they go out to seek a wife, and how they
[867] must behave towards a mother-in-law. To sit down by an evening
[584] fire next to an adult girl is tantamount to a marriage proposal,
even if not a word is spoken. Under no circumstances may one
[606] look at the mother-in-law. They also practice animal dances in
the bush, the kind that are performed by the men later at joyous
celebrations, and also in times of distress. Finally, the young
[304] Bushman receives the tribal marking, a number of skin incisions
on the cheek below the temple. Each tribe has a certain number
of skin incisions. In order to make them stand out clearly even
[386] after healing, pulverized charcoal is put into the incisions. As
a result, the tribal marking later looks like a black streak on the
yellow skin.

224 "There is nothing against applying another mark on the
304 future huntsman during this celebration, namely, the hunting
881 inoculation. This must be done by a man who has special powers
and knowledge at his disposal. In order to sharpen the future
hunter's eye for game generally and certain game in particular,
it is necessary to make a deep incision between the eyes over the
root of the nose, into which the practiced hand of the surgeon
sprinkles a powder of dried and pulverized parts of all kinds of
game.

"The inoculation may later be repeated several times if
the hunter has no luck in hunting.

881 "A person who has received the tribal marking is now re-
884 garded as a Bush 'man'; he can make his own bow and arrows,
like those of the old people, and go hunting with them. Also,
the way is now open for him to found a family."

It practically never happens that a Bushman remains
582

!KUNG

[31 cont.]

582 unmarried. Marriage is concluded at an early age. The age that
165 Bushmen attain is not great. There are relatively few old people among them, although some of them, it is true, attain a very
593 high age. The children must obey their parents even when they are grown up and married.

888 The Bushmen indignantly denied that they kill the old people or expose them in the bush. If someone is old, weak, or ill, then they simply walk more slowly or leave the sick person behind with a companion. My informants did report to me that dur-
[731] ing periods of extreme thirst not only old people, but also women and children who were unable to move on were left behind. This happened only in desperate circumstances, when those who were half-dead from thirst could not be helped in any case and a stay would have resulted in death for the whole kin group. As soon
764 as someone has died, all the women and girls sit around the corpse and weep. There is no singing on this occasion. Then some of the men go and dig a grave in the bush, cut off medium-sized pieces of wood, and place these in the bottom of the grave as a foundation, over which is spread the hay that the deceased was lying on. Then all take the body to the grave and bury it in a crouched position with the back toward the sunrise. Every relative must give a few glass beads and ornaments if the deceased is a woman. This finery is placed around the neck of the deceased. The corpse is rubbed down with green aromatic powder and ocher and is wrapped in its hides and blankets. They either throw thorn on the covered grave or make a four-cornered gutter in the sand around the grave and posts are pounded into the gutter to make a fence. The grave is now in the center of the fence, like the living person in the center of his hut. A cup of water and some food are put near the head area. Deceased men have bows, arrows, and their hunting bag placed on the chest. Children are given their miniature bows. The Bushmen say that they give the bows and arrows not because the deceased needs them for hunting in the beyond, but because they do not want to use the effects of the deceased, whom they loved. According to Vedder (1), the dead

---

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Bushleute, pp. 420-421.

!KUNG

[31 cont.]

764 of the Bushmen are tied up in a crouched position and buried under termite hills.

"The corpse is usually lowered in such a way that it is received by a man standing in the grave. Aside from those who bring the corpse and dig the grave, no one goes to the interment. The corpse is buried either in a crouched posture or lying in a crouched position. In the case of the crouched posture, the face is eastward, and the elbows rest on the knees, while the hands are on either side of the head. In the case of the crouched position, the corpse is placed on the left side. The left hand is placed under the head, giving the appearance of a sleeping person. The face likewise looks toward the east.

766 [32] "Before their interment, feared men, such as sorcerers who had a malign influence and others who were feared in life, but not women, are firmly tied up with thongs of game hide in the crouched posture described above; then, in some cases, the spine is crushed with a stone or ax, as a result of which the head can be bent even lower and placed between the knees. Tied up in this fashion, they are thrown into a fissure in the earth, into an anteater's hole, or into a small cave."

8. The Hunt

423 224 [621] It is well known that wherever the Bushmen live more or less undisturbed, each kin group has its precisely defined hunting territory. Vedder believes that the engravings of game tracks indicate old boundaries, as do the stone heaps which are usually designated as Heiseb graves. In any case the question arises as to who actually established these boundaries. My informants stated unanimously that the division stems from the time when the Bushmen still had a supreme chief. There seems to be some authority, however, even today, since in the bush veld the boundary lines are drawn with reference to certain trees, which, in general do not have too long a life. The Bushmen move back and forth within their hunting territories. It sometimes happens that a young hunter is not thoroughly familiar with the boundaries or that wounded game crosses the boundary. In this case the hunter must

[32 cont.]

224 go to the kin group to whom this territory belongs and take the
423 men to the animal. Then it will be carefully divided down the
middle; the hunter gets one half, and the owners get the other
half. Nevertheless, quarrels are common, because there is only
one of certain organs, such as the heart, liver, etc. These conditions,
[184] however, exist only among the eastern !Kung. A
Hei//om or a northern !Kung who is found hunting in the territory
224 of another tribe is regarded as an enemy. Boys' hunting is confined
[857] to lizards, tree rats, and other rodents. They ordinarily
[411] use the bird arrow, which is carved out of a piece of wood, but
in contrast to the Ovambo, the older boys here already have
[223] poisoned arrows. Young and old pursue the hunting of birds with
great enthusiasm; in particular guinea fowl, sand hens, grouse,
and the Pau [?] insofar as it occurs in this region. These fowl
[262] and small bushbucks are the chief sources of the meat in the
[136] native diet. The forest region of the eastern !Kung is poor in
large game. Zebras are almost entirely absent, as is the
wildebeest; the giraffe is very rare. The eland, kudu, hartebeest,
and especially the gemsbok are relatively more common. Hunting
drives are organized to hunt the elephant or rhinoceros. First,
the elephant is separated from the herd. As soon as it has been
cornered, one Bushman after another springs forward and throws
his spear. It is also possible to hunt the elephant with poisoned
arrows; there is a number of thinner spots in the skin at the front
legs, and the marksman places as many arrows there as possible.
The elephant does not die; it merely becomes sick. The hunter
rushes home to get some other men, who then go to look for the
elephant with spears. Pitfalls are made in the vicinity of the
watering places, and a pointed pole is placed inside them. The
Bushmen along the Okovanggo also hunt the hippopotamus with
pitfalls. The eastern !Kung maintain that in ancient times the
hippopotamus was also found in their land. The sling trap is made
[223] in various sizes. The ostrich in particular is usually caught in
such sling traps, which are provided with a piece of bone bleached
by the sun. Small cats and the like are also caught with this trap.
It is likewise placed on the trails of the bushbuck. Jackals and
the like are caught by lying in wait for them as they come out of
their dens and then beating them to death with the kirri.

!KUNG

[32 cont.]

222 Termites are captured in two ways. During the night holes are dug near the tall termite hills, and these holes are illuminated with wooden torches. A hide is placed on the floor of the hole, and soon so many termites are on it that the hide can be carried home. The second method is used to catch those termites that have no structures above ground, but have a network of corridors running horizontally immediately below the surface. A hole is dug deeper than the corridors, and the termites fall into it as they run frightened back and forth on their [33] horizontal paths. [821] This kind of termite serves as a weather prophet for the rain [787] doctor, since they construct the most openings facing upward when a rainy year is in prospect. 224 The lion was not hunted. 262 In olden times, only the old people ate the large game. The flesh of predatory animals is forbidden to all children; on the other hand, there is no prohibition against eating hare.

224 Naturally, the Bushmen are very anxious to have success in hunting. !Khu himself, the great captain, brings luck in hunting. He orders the supreme //Gauab (/Nawa) to direct the arrow. The doctors always pray to the great captain to send hunting luck, but there is no specific formula. They do this "quietly to themselves." An old prospector in Kalkfeld told me that he had seen the following among the !Kung Bushmen: "Before they go hunting, they draw the outline of the animal in the sand and with all kinds of ceremonies they shoot an arrow into the drawing. Where the figure is hit, the game will also be struck."

I shall now render fairly literally the course of a kudu hunt as it was described to me by a Bushman: "When I have found a kudu track, then we follow it very quietly and when we have found the place where the kudu ate, then one must be very careful. One person goes ahead, and the others follow. Now, when I see the kudu standing, I take out the poisoned arrow and shoot. Then I look to see what the kudu is doing or shoot once more; then I follow him to see whether the arrow will drop out; if the arrow falls out, I take it and see how deeply it penetrated into the kudu. Then I have to go back to the other hunters and state exactly how everything was. Then we go home. One should not run after the kudu, but must leave it alone. The person who

[33 cont.]
224 has done the shooting must go home immediately and may not
speak, eat, or drink, for if the hunter speaks with others, the kudu
will not be found for a long time, and if he drinks water, the
poison will become watery and will not be effective, and if he
eats, the kudu will remain quiet and the poison will not work effectively. The next morning very early we must set out on the
trail. The kudu is already dead. The people carry the meat home.
[782] Then it is put on the socha [sacred] fire. The //Gauab must be
given some of the meat. Whoever does not do this will be punished
by the //Gauab with serious illness, and the people will say: 'That
is just. The //Gauab has given him the game, why does he give
nothing for //Gauab?'" Here, therefore, a true primitial offering
is involved.

It is interesting that the Ogowe bury arrows in the sand at
various watering places, with the poisoned tip pointing upward;
they do this in shady spots that game animals like to use as resting
[202] places, and by certain signs, such as tying together blades of tall
grass and the like, they set up warnings (Von Zastrow and Vedder).

When a Bushman horde of today is able to hunt down half a dozen large antelopes in a year, it can consider itself lucky.

The porcupine is also commonly hunted, as are the scaly anteater and the fat aardvark, which is very common but difficult to catch. Monkeys are very rare; on the other hand, tree rats make a desirable addition to the diet. The ostrich is not uncommon in open terrain, and ostrich eggs are greatly coveted. Occasionally a boa constrictor, which tastes like a fat fish, or an iguana may round out the menu.

136 Among the animals which are in any way dangerous to
human beings, the lion should be mentioned in particular. They
occur in great numbers, but rarely stay in one place for a long
[165] period of time. A considerable number of Bushmen become their
262 victims, especially in the north. Lions, leopards, hyenas, and
jackals are neither hunted nor eaten; the same is true concerning
[153] birds of prey. Eating leopard meat produces fever and eczema,
[825] while eating the flesh of birds of prey produces temporary blindness
and symptoms of sickness similar to acute sausage poisoning.

Poisonous snakes are not eaten; they are much rarer here than in the stony regions of the central and southern areas, and they do not constitute a noteworthy danger.

[33 cont.]

136 Among the dangerous insects, the anopheles mosquito naturally comes first. It is present in enormous numbers during the [34] rainy season. In some places, small reddish-brown ticks are common. The Glossina [tsetse fly] seems to be absent; I encountered them only in the Kunene swamps. Among human parasites, bugs and fleas are practically unknown; on the other hand, lice are extraordinarily common, without being especially noticed by their owners.

9. The Water Supply

312 During the dry season, the water supply plays a decisive role. Every Bushman carries in his quiver the two reed tubes for the so-called Bushman well. It is by no means true, however, that the Bushmen are able to obtain water in this way at any time and place. It is only in places where some dampness is still visible [Fig. 1 appears here] that the earth is loosened with a digging stick, and then the reed, which, by inserting the parts into each other, may be over a meter long, is sunk into the ground. As the accompanying figure shows, the Bushman does not keep the drainage reed and the sucking reed in his mouth simultaneously. The representations which suggest this might well be completely false; instead, the Bushman has the sucking reed in the right-hand corner of his mouth, and as soon as he has his mouth full of water he lets it flow into the closed hollow of his left hand in which the drainage reed is placed. The water gained in this way is of course thoroughly mixed with saliva. It cannot be kept for any length of time.

312
824 Water reservoirs are also provided by the few baobab trees, which contain puddles of water in their interiors. An artful method is used in the Sand Veld. A palm tree is drilled halfway up its trunk; then the palm pith is scraped out as far as possible, and the opening is carefully sealed. The water rising from the roots gathers in this hollow and has a good taste.

Among the thirst-quenching roots, that of a liana (!góa) was named in particular.

[34 cont.]

312
224 Concerning other water-containing trees, F. Seiner reports:

"The water-containing trees always have two or more trunks, and the source of the water is to be sought up where the branches fork. If the saddle formed where the branches separate shows a hole, a hollow area is traced in the adjoining part of the trunk, which may contain up to 60 liters of water. The water is obtained by tying, Bushman fashion, a small bundle of dry grass, or better still, a handkerchief, to the tip of a stick and inserting it in the hollow. When the stick is drawn out, the water drips from the saturated bundle or cloth, which is pressed out over a cup. [Fig. 2 appears here.]

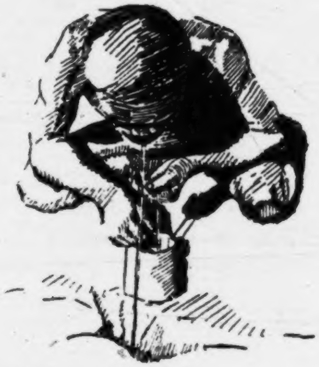


Fig. 1. !Kung at a Bushman Well.

[35] "The most important water roots are the Asclepiadacea Fockea damarana Schltr. (ehoe), the Leguminosa

[532]
[224]

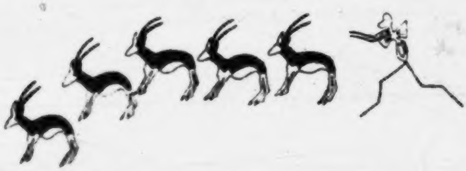


Fig. 2. //Gauab drives the game toward the hunters (from Kühn and Obermann, Buschmannkunst [Bushman Art]).
[113]

[35 cont.]

312 Dolichos seineri Harms (eona), and the Convolvulacea Ipomoea
824 seineri Pilger (eawa); the enormous tubers of the latter two may weigh up to 150 kilograms. Considerably more important for the natives than these 'water roots' is the Curcurbitacea Citrullus naudinianus Hook. (orura of the Herero; gab of the Hottentot); without their juicy gourds, which occur in great quantities and for the most part are edible, most of the central Kalahari would be impassable during the dry season, even for the Bushmen."

Further, F. Galton (1) reports:

[113] 1. F. Galton, Tropisches Südafrika, p. 101.

312
825 "In practice, the first hopeful sign when people are looking around for water is a flight of guinea fowl; next, following the habits of the land, each tree is carefully examined until a parrot is sighted, an object visible even at a great distance because the bird likes to sit on the uppermost branches. A parrot is rarely more than half an hour away from water, and the same applies to baboons. If one proceeds with careful observation and takes a probable direction, he will see doves flying about; then little birds are found in all the bushes, and they are close to it."

10. The Veldkost

222
776 Just as //Gauab accompanies the hunter on the chase, he is also the companion of the women who go to look for veldkost. If //Gauab takes delight in a woman, he will break the bones of an animal, killing it, and will lead the woman to it. If, however, //Gauab is angry at a woman and she finds no veldkost, then she becomes angry, gets up early in the morning, abuses //Gauab, and then takes medicine and washes her face so that //Gauab will not recognize her. Then she goes into the veld and finds something. [782] //Gauab receives no offerings from the veldkost. The celebration
223 of the first fruits of the veld described by Vedder is no longer held. [887] The oldest woman is brought to eat samples of each type of veldkost that is brought home for the first time in the year. Then the second oldest woman takes a taste, and so on down the line.

!KUNG

[35 cont.]

222 When all the old women have made their tests, then the children also get some, and the veldkost is, so to speak, made available for general consumption. When a woman has found a spot where [423] there is a great deal of veldkost, she makes a sign at this spot, and then everything growing there belongs to her. No one will take any of it.

[262] There were and still are a whole assortment of types of [886] socha veldkost reserved for the old people. [Fig. 3 appears here.]

11. Ergology

Fire

372 773 The Bushmen believe that there was a time when they had no fire. The following legend tells how they obtained it: "The ostrich had a firebrand under his wing. He, the owl, and Heiseb played together. Then the ostrich took fright at the owl because he thought the owl had horns. He advised all of them to sleep for a little while. When the owl was asleep, he blew at it and saw that it merely had little tufts of feathers and no horns on its head. Thereupon he awakened the two others again and invited them to go on playing. Then Heiseb said: 'Dear ostrich, please wave your wings.' The ostrich did so, and as a result its firebrand fell to the ground. Heiseb picked it up and threw it to the fig tree, and since then man has had fire." -- The narrative probably comes from the legend-circle of the Hei//om Hottentot. Otherwise, Heiseb never appears in !Kung stories. 372 Two pieces of wood from the fig tree are still used occasionally to make fire. For the most part, the most popular devices for making fire are a striking iron and flint; matches are less [36] prized. A pair of fire sticks, the sucking reeds, a few poisoned arrows, and a bird arrow make up the permanent inventory of the quiver.

!KUNG

[36 cont.]

Dwellings

342 The dwelling of the Bushman consists of the simple windscreen, semicircular in form and about 150 centimeters high. On [177] several farms, however, even the Bushmen have taken to building beehive huts in the Herero manner. The windscreens in a settle- [361] ment more or less form a circle, and the socha fire is to be found [778] near the windscreen of the village chief. [372] During warm nights the [513] Bushmen do not sleep under the windscreen but outside it.

372

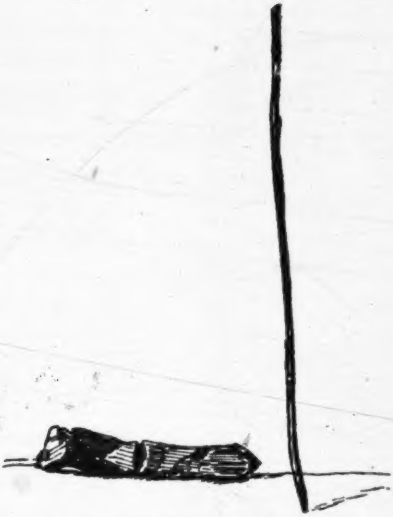


Fig. 3. Sticks for Firemaking, Kalahari Bushmen (Museum of Ethnology, Lurich).

!KUNG

[36 cont.]

Cooking and Cooking Utensils

354 Lumps of surface limestone are generally used as hearthstones.
412 Here and there, as a great rarity, one finds a pounding stone of
quartzite.

To pound the veldkost, small mortars, carved out of wood, with conical or hemispherical bottoms are used. In case the mortars become damaged, holes are made on either side of the crack, and the flaw is drawn together with bast strips and also smeared over with resin. The shape of the pestle, which is from 50 centimeters to one meter long, is shown in Figure 7.

415 Originally these !Kung had no pots and probably had no
[252] way of boiling anything. The usual manner of preparing food even
today is to roast and grill it on and between hot stones. Nowadays,
[439] every horde owns a number of pots acquired from the Okawango.
[482] These pots have bast or tendon plaiting around them, by which they
are fastened when carried on the march. The Okawango people
[439] gladly exchange these water pots, which they have carried with
them on the waterless stretch, for food from the Bushmen in the
area between Karakowisa and Nuragas.

416 Small cast-iron tripods are a very popular article. A
417 longish, crudely carved stirring stick, as well as a piece of hardwood for arranging the fire, completes the inventory of the Bushman kitchen. Spoons are unknown.

Clothing

291 The clothing of the woman, as has already been repeatedly
described, consists of a front apron and a back apron, made of soft
leather, and a leather cloak something like a pelerine. Usually
she also has a carrying hide for the baby. Generally, the child does
[854] not sit on her back, as among the Blacks, but on the side of her hip.
[415] In addition, the woman has the large veld bag in which she keeps the
[412] finds from her collecting. On the march, the woman is equipped
with the simple digging stick, pointed at the bottom.

The men are clothed only with the modesty apron and in addition

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves
when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals
made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the
woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have
some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes
pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the
293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached
a small bag with the most important utensils, that is,
tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least,
within the police zone, the pass.

177 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire
291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season,
are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On
the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My research
[123] with a horde always ended with all the informants having
[124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the
informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth,
then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then
he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be
supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of
old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position.
On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they
can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly
to take it off. There is considerable demand for European
shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles
of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in
[412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess
[325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in
[439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small
children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that,
[531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead embroidery.
Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich
301 egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are
[321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence
[556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are
[462] [306] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around
the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of
[302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to
lengthen them.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

!KUNG

[37]

412

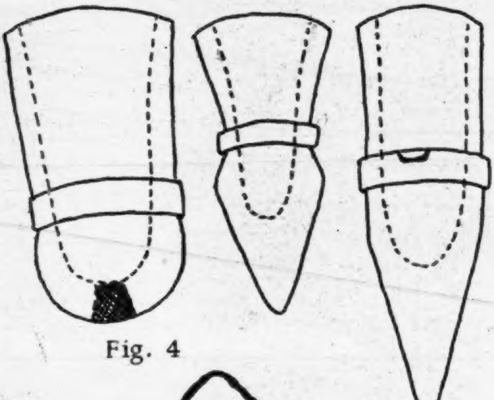


Fig. 4

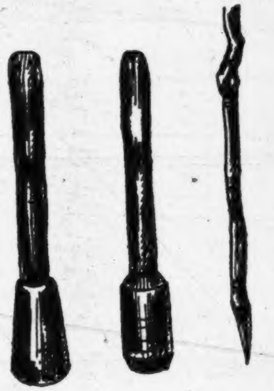


Fig. 7

415
412

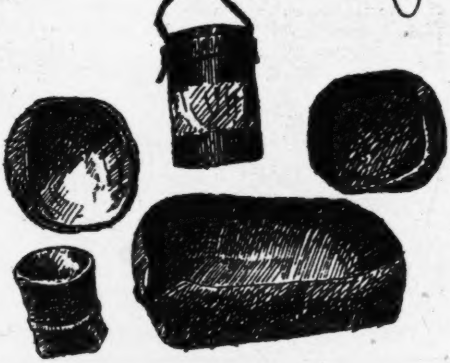
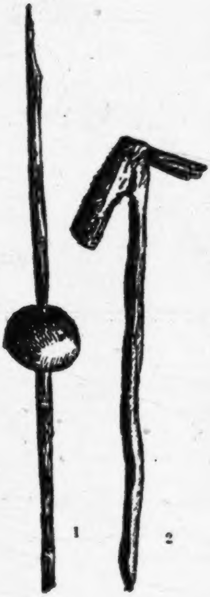


Fig. 5



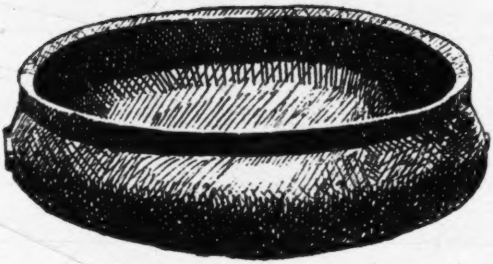


Fig. 6

Fig. 8

(Captions on following page.)

!KUNG

[38 cont.]

412
415 Fig. 4. Wooden Mortars of the !Kung. (1/4 natural size [as shown in the original text]).

Fig. 5. Wooden Vessels of the !Kung.

Fig. 6. Large Wooden Bowl of the !Kung (probably imported from the north – Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 2158).

Fig. 7. Pestle and Digging Stick or the !Kung (greatly reduced).

Fig. 8. (1) Digging Stick with !Kwe; (2) Veld Hoe (Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 1278 and 1497).

301 lengthen them. Some people possess such a great number of these
chains that they cover the entire forehead. Children often wear
small rectangular pendants, and women have large, medallion-
like round ones that are worn like a diadem in the middle of the
forehead. Little chains of small ostrich egg beads up to five centi-
meters long are worn as ear pendants. Children are also given
armbands and anklebands made of ostrich egg beads. Brass beads
from ancient times are rare and are worn exclusively as hair
pendants, as are copper beads. Glass beads are not greatly valued,
and only blue ones are worn, if any. On the other hand, beads
made from aromatic wood are common. Longer chains of alter-
[756] nating wood and ostrich egg beads and worn in the hair are insignia
of the female doctors. The men have tight little leather straps
[827] at the wrists and ankles, which probably serve to strengthen the
[411] musculature in running and using the bow. In addition, they have
a few armbands of brass or iron. Every man and woman wears a
string around the neck, which has one or two appetite sticks (see
[777] below) and various talismans attached at the front. Finally, a
little horn containing various kinds of medicine is worn around
the neck by many of the men. The younger women and girls
[303] usually also possess a tortoise shell powder box of the kind
described below for the Dama. Body painting is scarcely practiced;
[302] concerning tattooing, see page 56. The children occasionally
wear armbands that they make themselves with grass or various
fruits.

!KUNG

[38 cont.]

Weapons

411 The Bushman's chief weapons are the bow and arrows. The bow staff as a rule has a round transverse incision and tapers off slightly toward both ends. The !Kung of the Otjimpolo Veld, on the other hand, use palm wood like the Ovambo. There the wood of the bow is slightly convex on the outside and flat on the inside with squared sides. The string is made of leather, so that in the case of these bows the bow staff is more flexible than the string. A bow of the Otjimpolo Bushmen was 115 centimeters long and 13 centimeters high. The bows of the !Kung discussed here also have leather supports on both sides and commonly are reinforced with sisal cord. The bows of the Hei//om seem to be differentiated from those of the !Kung primarily in [39] that the bow staff is flat on the outside and convex on the inside. In lieu of the leather strips, reinforcements of palm bast are also often used. [383] The string, depending on the region, is a waxed plant fiber cord, animal tendon (kudu), or fine, twisted leather. The length is about 120 centimeters; the height, 20 centimeters. There are also much smaller bows, however, 95-110 centimeters long.

[291]
[531]

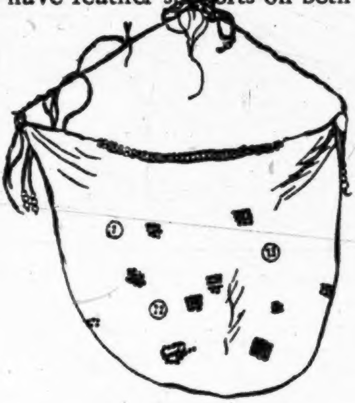


Fig. 9. Embroidered Front Apron of Leather (!Kung).

192
411 The wood of the !Kung bows is called !howa. The arrow is made of wood. The shaft is called //gau; the feathering,

!KUNG

[39 cont.]

192 sometimes radial and sometimes in rows, is called !khui. The
411 incision at the lower end of the arrow shaft is called /gei. The
arrow points are usually little triangular iron plates (//khai). The
entire tip, including the binding and the poisoned part, is called
!hui. [Figs. 10 and 11 appear here.]

411 The arrows are 65 to 68 centimeters long. They are usu-
ally poisoned. The poison, which looks like dark wax, is smeared
278 on little sticks and preserved in this way. It consists of five in-
[463] gredients, the most important of which is euphorbia sap. Only certain persons prepare the poison. They know that the plant poisons are not equally effective every year. Hence, a small bushbuck is shot first, then a larger animal (say, a leopard), and finally a gemsbok. Only when the proper results are obtained with all these animals is the poison traded.

[824]

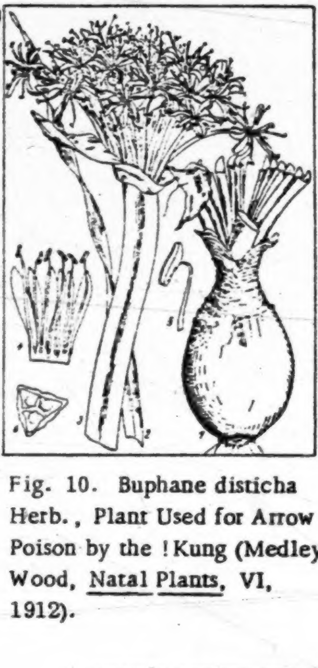


Fig. 10. Buphane disticha Herb., Plant Used for Arrow Poison by the !Kung (Medley Wood, Natal Plants, VI, 1912).

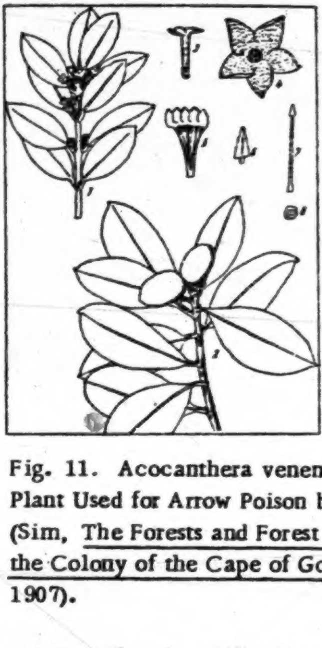


Fig. 11. Acocanthera venenata, Plant Used for Arrow Poison by the !Kung (Sim, The Forests and Forest Flora of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1907).

411 The lances of the !Kung consist of a shaft about 160 centimeters long, which is greatly reduced in thickness toward the back end.

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire.

[40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 [439] Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always belongs to a specific person; [422] collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 [304] Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out teeth. 177 415 278 Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen. 805 211 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions; these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 [614] [888] [623] Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary. To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements BETWEEN THE CHIEF AND THE OTHER OLD MEN.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 75]

!KUNG

411
284

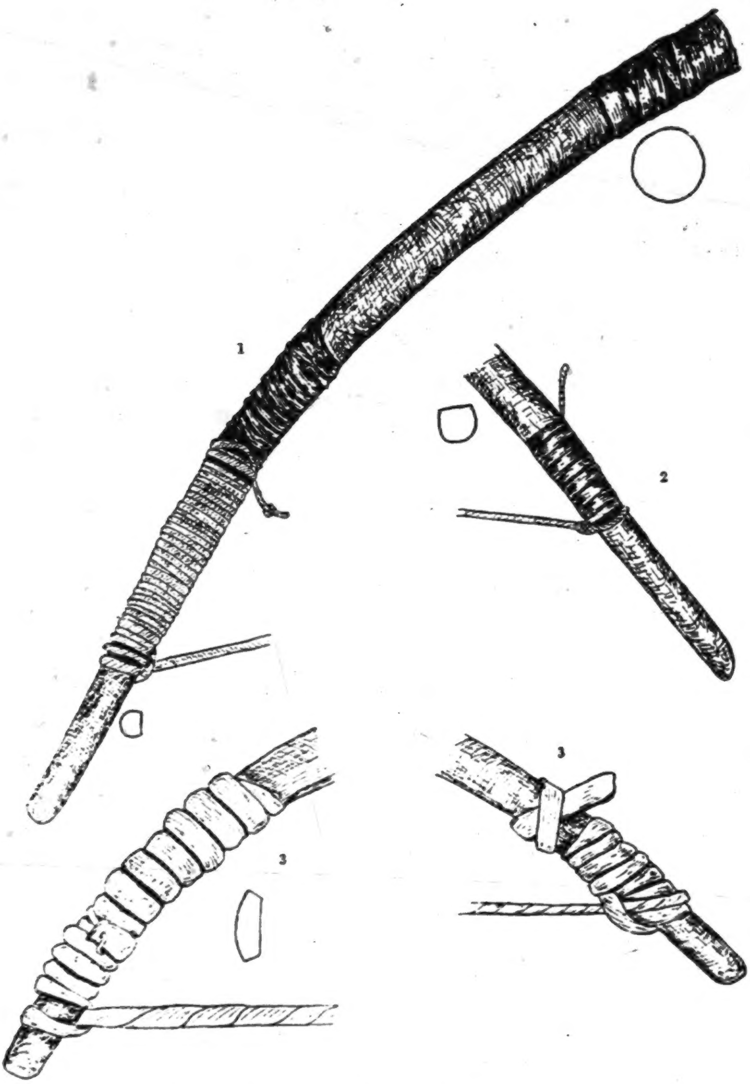


Fig. 12. Bows of the !Kung.

1. Keitsas.
2. Kuntsas.
3. Otjimpolo Veld.

[41 cont.]

622 between the chief and the other old men. When the village chief dies, it is not his eldest son, but the eldest son of his sister [Figs. 13 and 14 appear here] who takes over the village.

582 There are certain marriage prohibitions and requirements, which are illustrated by the following schema.

[534]

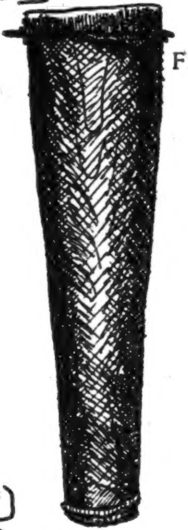


Fig. 13. Dance Drum of the !Kung (Kuntsas). (Greatly reduced.)

[805]
[211]

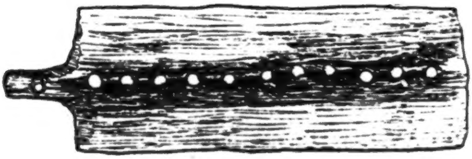


Fig. 14. Calendar Board of the !Kung (actual size [as shown in the original text]).

Father's brother X wife	Father X mother	Father's sister X husband
Brother--sister	A--sister	Cousin (male) -- cousin (female

If A is taken as an example, the children of his father's sister are his cousins. Marriage with these cousins is prohibited. On the other hand, A must marry the father's brother's daughter if she so desires. The man on his part, however, cannot force the

[41 cont.]

582 girl to marry him. Naturally, these sisters ordinarily do not remember their prerogative until they have failed to get another man whom they desire. Thus the young men are often forced to marry girls who are much older than themselves. If the wife
587 dies, the widower must marry a sister of his wife in case she agrees. [42] If, on the other hand, the man dies, the widow
(589) must stay with the parents-in-law for about a year. It is illegal to marry the wife or the children of a deceased brother. The widow must marry a man from another kin group and move to his village (1). The boys belong to the father's kin group, the girls to
611 THE MOTHER'S KIN GROUP.

768
842
589
732
627

1. "The fate of many a young childless widow is much worse, however. A Bushman communicated the following concerning this matter: 'When a man dies and leaves behind a wife without children, and the brother-in-law refuses to accept his brother's bow and thereby his sister-in-law, she may return to her father's village. But this does not by any means always happen. As a woman who did not bear children she is not highly regarded. Her life has no significance. The men of the village talk about her case and designate one from their midst to destroy the useless life. This man will come to the widow's hut in the evening and will sit down across from her at her fire. He has a bow and arrow with him. The widow knows what is in store for her, but gives no sign. The two talk about trivial matters. After a while the man takes the bow in his hand and shoots an arrow through the heart of the woman sitting across from him. The unfortunate woman dies and is buried as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible. Blood vengeance on the part of the woman's kin group is not to be feared. After all, she did not bear any children.' " (Zastrow and Vedder, *op. cit.*, p. 419.)

!KUNG

000 [42 cont.]
622 the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is
372 the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo.
778 Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are
[262] "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a
784 very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language.
Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is
166 available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the
373 village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha
[596] fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they
252 have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha
264 fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave im-
621 mediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the
[462] windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire
he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does.
Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large
game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains
seated there, while the women and children make themselves
comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The
game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and
[262] shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children,
who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is
[622] consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has
the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The
hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has
described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

178 When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the
622 Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight
organization and a common leader. When Captain Francois went
beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable
support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note
that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of
Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a
Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a
chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest
chief I heard of was "χ'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

---

2. He himself was a half-breed.

[42 cont.]

178 622 He died when his successor, Amme, was still a small boy. Amme, however, was unable [43] to learn much from his father; he was not a good chief, and he died while still young. Since then the !Kung Bushmen have not had a supreme chief. One of my informants, Doctor X'amme, claimed to be the great-grandson of the great chief of the same name.

The following from Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) should be mentioned:

593 596 622 "The father is the chief of the family. All must respect him. Children may not call him by name. -- The chief's position is generally passed from father to son. If the son is not yet an adult when his father dies, the father's younger brother takes his place. Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district]. 423 614

[276]

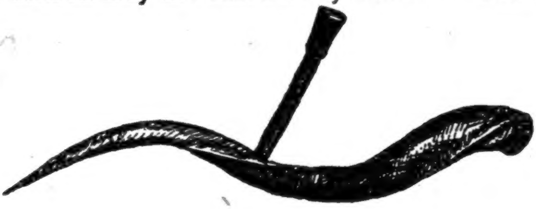


Fig. 15. Dacha Pipe of the !Kung Bushmen (from the Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart, 29464).

"There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 100 kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

---

1. Op. cit., pp. 412, 424.

[43 cont.]

423 614 769 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's territory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 614 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, includes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place.

13. Illnesses and Treatment

826 The anatomical knowledge of the Bushmen is quite extensive as a result of their way of life as hunters.

[761] 752 757 278 The heart is regarded as the seat of life, and the breath has some connection with the heart. Their surgical knowledge is confined to the extraction of thorns by means of an awl-like instrument and to the relatively effective bandaging of hand and leg fractures. Their supply of medicines, on the other hand, is very limited. In what follows, I shall list the common illnesses and their treatment.

Eye Inflammation

752 [826] [753] [755] Both dry and exudative eye inflammations, caused by sand and irritating grass seeds, are extremely widespread, and blear eyes are the rule among older people. These diseases, however, are not nearly as grave among the !Kung living in the forest as, say, among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari or among those of Naukluft. Among the latter, blear eyes are even regarded as signs of beauty in young girls. Ordinary eye inflammations that pass in a short period of time mean nothing. They are treated by rubbing with fat. If the ailment lasts for a longer period of time, then //Gauab [Fig. 16 appears here] certainly had something to do with it; the doctor is called in and, after some treatment, produces a "little black medicine" from the eye.

[43 cont.]

732 Blindness in one eye is very common as the result of wounds inflicted by thorns. Among very old people I have also found blindness as the result of cataract. Here and there one also finds (648) Bushmen who in olden times had been captured by the Herero, who shot out their eyes with grass seed.

Ear Ailments

757 They are relatively rare. For an ordinary earache, leaves are stuffed into the ear "so that it will stay warm." The aching ear is likewise held over the fire, in which some medicine has been placed. If pus comes out of the ear, the ache stops and all [413] (753) [44] is well. If //Gauab has put something in it, however, the pains become so strong that one can no longer sleep or hear. In [755] such cases one must call an especially powerful doctor, who draws out the spirits of sickness; otherwise the patient will die.

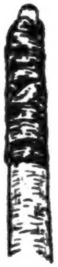


Fig. 16. Scratching Instrument. Iron leaf fastened to a little stick with resin and leather strips. (Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg; actual size [as shown in original text].)

[44 cont.]

Toothache

142 [515] I rarely saw irregularities in the position of the teeth, and never protruding or receding teeth. The only care given the teeth is the use of iron arrow points for toothpicks. The teeth are usually yellow, covered with dense layers of tartar, and because of the sand content of the vegetable diet, are quickly worn down 164 by chewing. Caries are extraordinarily common, but infections also occur through the exposure of the root canal as the teeth are 753 worn down. If a person has a severe toothache, //Gauab has stuck a needle into it, and the doctor must be called to get it out. If there is no general discomfort, however, then no dsao are there. 757 A little piece of wood is sharpened to a point at one end, held with the point against the root of the tooth, and then the tooth is knocked out with a stone. This instrument is called "oie." 147 Small children suffer considerable pain when they teethe; some- 753 times dsao (spirits of sickness) are also at work in this case. [Fig. 17 appears here.]

Sore Throat

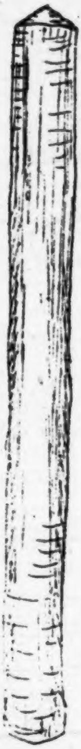
753 755 A sore throat means that //Gauab has made a cord and is drawing it tight around the patient's neck. The doctor must remove the cord from the patient; it is about 30 centimeters long and is like the trap cord (//Kao); everyone can see it after the treatment.

Colds (X'óā)

164 513 Grippe takes many victims among the Bushmen every year, especially among those who are already tuberculous. In winter, colds are extraordinarily frequent, since the people lie almost naked around the fires. In the forest they are fairly well protected against the wind, but on the open plain the wind changes its direction at night while they are asleep, so that they not only catch cold but often receive severe burns around the stomach -- although this applies only to the men; the women sleep at a greater distance FROM THE FIRE.

[44 cont.]

000 757 278 from the fire. As a cure for coughing and hoarseness, they chew the fibers of a sisal-like plant, which are twisted to make the trap cord. The plant is called kũi. It must be brought fresh from the forest. For chest pains, in recent times they have started drinking warm water to which much cooking salt is added.



[413] Fig. 17. !Kung Instrument for Knocking Out Teeth; actual size [as shown in original text].

Circulatory Diseases

164 278 751 As among the Central African Pygmies, we find strong sinuosity of the arteria temporalis even among more youthful individuals. The heart quickly wears itself out as a result of the exhausting way of life and the great amount of running. The people try to increase its capabilities in every way possible. In order to stop the pounding of the heart and to run longer, they take the leaves of a tree with red fruit (in-gui). These leaves are chewed and swallowed. If this does no good, they chew the root of the ≠Na tree. If a person has a heart pain so that he cannot run, he takes roots of the Dormakar bush (!gu) and of the Hell bush (!gai !dsao), boils them both, and drinks the decoction. In case of angina pectoris, the skin of a boa constrictor is placed around the chest.

[45]

Gastrointestinal Disorders

753 It is interesting to note that the doctrine of the importance
[171] of the liver and gall bladder in the origin of disease, which we
find among all primitive and civilized peoples up to the humoral
medicine of the previous century, is already present among the
Bushmen. When the gall bladder is full, one becomes sick and
[755] vomits gall. Then the region of the liver is massaged, just as is
done in the case of liver pains. Enlargement of the liver as the
[164] result of chronic malaria is common. The moon, which dies
[821] every month, also has gall sickness, and moonlight is the juice
of the gall bladder vomited by it. Moonlight and gall are known
[164] by the same word (goo). Spleen tumor is especially common
757 among children. They have no medicine against splenalgia.
278 They have no medicine for inducing vomiting. It is induced by
putting the finger or a feather into the mouth. To stop vomiting,
one chews little twigs of the goro tree. The bitter wood of the
liana (χ'áǎ-χ'áñ) is chewed for stomach-ache. In case of
[753] constipation the doctor must practice magic, for it is assumed that
[755] the dsao have tied the stool in the intestine, and the doctor must
loosen and extract the cord, just as in the case of an inflammation
of the throat. The patient may not eat anything and drink very
little. In case of diarrhea, even the bleeding kind, the same
medicine is taken as in the case of stomach-aches. Intestinal
147 worms are unknown. We already know from earlier reports that the
262 gastrointestinal tract of the Bushman can take all kinds of things
that we cannot take. As the result of habituation from early childhood on, he can digest meat that has gone bad and the like, without
any trouble (1). After a long period of hunger, he can consume

---

1. I myself witnessed a drastic example of this. I had brought a side of bacon from Swakopmund, which supposedly had been preserved for all eternity according to a special process. When I brought it out, it had a hideous smell, and in order to prevent the Bushmen from taking it and getting sick, I had it hung high on a tree. The

!KUNG

[45 cont.]

147
262
Bushmen stared longingly at the discolored lump of fat. Finally they sent a deputation to me, saying that they wanted the bacon for their dogs. The moment they received it, it was skillfully divided according to families and consumed in the course of a great feast, without any harmful effects.

enormous quantities, but such excesses as a rule are followed by an indisposition. The day after a major feast, almost all of them lie in the sun with stomach-ache and gripes. In other words, even a Bushman should not be credited with the impossible with regard to food; many things that seem repulsive to us, such as earthworms, lizards, thick grubs, mice, and the like, are in themselves not at all harmful to health, especially since the Bushman only eats them cooked or roasted. Bushmen who have grown up on the farms can take the same diet as the Whites or Blacks. On
147 the other hand, the wild Bushmen who have grown up on veldkost
262 and the flesh of wild animals cannot accustom themselves to the
648 work and prison diet of the Blacks. A term in jail of any great length means condemnation to a slow but sure death for most Bushmen. The prisoners show the symptoms of vitamin deficiency, become infirm, get edemata on their legs, dropsy, and unfailingly perish. In the initial stage severe sluggishness of the bowels sets in. Ample portions of fresh meat can keep the Bushman healthy even in imprisonment. The fact that Bushmen run away from the
[464] farms is based in most cases upon their inability to endure any
[146] longer the diet given them. The vitamin need of the Bushman who has grown up in the wilderness is undoubtedly much greater, and his longing for meat, which often appears pathological, can be explained as a physiological craving for vitamins.

Diseases of the Urogenital System

164 Catarrhs of the bladder occur; in such cases a flat stone
(755) is warmed in the fire and placed on the bladder region. Hematuria, evidently the result of nephritis, was twice treated by my friend

! KONG

164 [45 cont.]
[753] Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The
(192) terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no
[302] means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is
[593] usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin
hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy
842 is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine
[757] for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is
[278] done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband
841 and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on
[757] the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least
853 until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished
[illegible] by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

164 The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care.
[515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky
[278] sap of a plant called timba.
[757]

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams
[145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long;
302 the toenails are often fissured.

!KUNG

[46 cont.]

Infectious Diseases

164 The Bushmen are plagued by the two most dangerous chronic infectious diseases, tuberculosis and malaria. Leprosy is absent.

Malaria appears every year during the rainy season. Bisob [757] roots are then thrown in the fire, and the smoke is inhaled. Small [278] children more commonly die of it. I did not see any cases of black water fever or malarial cachexia.

Tuberculosis is the common cause of death among the [165] Bushmen. I saw bone tuberculosis and swellings of the glands, as well as advanced cases of lung and throat tuberculosis. The poor people are helpless, and the frequent colds further the process in a dangerous fashion. As nomads living in small groups, they are generally spared the epidemics of the Whites and Blacks. Once an epidemic has made its appearance among them, however, they die in great numbers. It is interesting to note that the Bushmen are aware that contagious diseases exist. As such, however, they only know the above-mentioned skin disease (gari).

753 The other infectious general diseases are explained as an attack by many spirits of sickness upon the horde.

Assistance at Birth

844 When a young woman anticipates her first confinement, she remains near the huts because she is afraid. The older women cheer her up, and then a resting place is made of dried grass. The woman gives birth in a squatting position. In case of difficulties [845] during delivery, the lower part of the body is massaged. Medicine or manual assistance to expedite the delivery is not given. The umbilical cord is cut off with a quartz knife and buried.

[47]

Wounds and Injuries

752 The most dangerous injury a Bushman can receive is through a poisoned arrow. The poisoned arrow is cut out, a piece of wood is held in the fire until it glows, and then it is used to

[47 cont.]

752 burn the wounded person at many places on his body. When the
poison smells the warmth, it gathers at these places; incisions
are then made there, and the blood is sucked out by means of a
cupping glass made of gemsbok horn. The wounded person may
neither sit nor lie down; he must be walked about for twenty-four
hours. After this time he either dies or is cured. The method
helps only in rare cases.

Snakebite is the second great danger. If one makes an
751 incision in the lower part of the calf and rubs scrapings from a
824 bisob root into it, the snakes smell this and do not come out of
825 hiding. [Fig. 18 appears here.] When a person has to run great
distances, bisob dust is mixed with fat and applied
752 to the legs. In case someone is nevertheless
(411) bitten by a snake, the treatment is analogous to
that used for arrow wounds. Injuries to the feet
caused by thorns are very common. Injuries
that pass through the aponeurosis are regarded
as deadly. They practically always become
infected. Even though wound infections take
a less malignant and a slower course than
among Europeans, they nonetheless some-
times lead to death. The only medicine
(278) used is bisob powder scattered in the
wound.

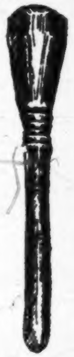


Fig. 18. Kirri of the !Kung.

756 Some doctors claimed to be immune
751 to snake and scorpion bites.

What Vedder observed among the Bergdama is reported in a similar manner by Schinz:

"With the intention of testing the latter characteristic, I one day persuaded an old sorcerer visiting us in Noi !as on Ngami Lake to undertake an experiment with 12 scorpions (Buthus randus Simon) picked out by myself and having an average length of eight centimeters. In order to prevent any possibility of deception, I put the animals on the various parts of his body with tweezers, on the hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. As a rule they then immediately and excitedly moved the long postabdomen back and forth and jabbed violently once or twice into the flesh of the guinea

- !KUNG

[47 cont.]

756 pig concerned, at which time in each case a large drop of white
751 fluid escaped from the stinger. Finally they moved about quietly without making any further attempts to sting, but they did not in any way show the excited hurry to get off the Bushman's body that has been reported by individual writers. The old man claimed not to feel any pain, and I have no reason to distrust him since, after all, if the poison had had any kind of effect upon him, he would scarcely have allowed himself to be stung in the most sensitive parts of his body for the sake of my desire for knowledge. Even a full hour after our experiment, the parts that had been stung did not show the slightest alteration. The man declared that he had attained this extraordinary faculty as a boy in the 'school' of a sorcerer, where he had been urged to apply scorpion poison, which had been taken forcibly and thinned with water and urine, on small incisions, as well as to eat the poisonous stingers pounded to a mash and boiled; supposedly immunity against snakebite can be obtained in like manner."

14. The Doctors' Test

755 One afternoon the eldest of the horde outside Keibeb came
756 to me and told me that that night a great dance would take place,
796 first, because a three-year-old child had just been bitten by a small black snake, second, because many people were sick with fever, and third, because one of the men wanted to undergo the doctors' test. Such festivals take place only during the time of the full moon. Toward nine o'clock in the evening I was lured into the camp by wild noise. The people had made somewhat larger and more fires than usual. The mother with the child bitten by the snake was seated in the center of an open semicircle. The older women squatted around her. To one side of them in single file, one behind each other, stood the younger women and girls. Both the male [48] and female doctors were busy. The chief female doctor, Biri, was "personally" absent this evening. She was crouching off to one side in the darkness of the bush. /Nawa,
[787] the highest of the //Gauab, had taken possession of her and spoke through her mouth. Her hair ornaments, long chains of beads made

[48 cont.]
755 from ostrich egg shells, had been put on by her proxy, Dube, a
756 very intelligent young woman. The latter, standing at the end of
796 the semicircle of seated women, conducted the ceremony. She
[276] was in a very good mood and alternately smoked her Bushman
[554] pipe and my cigarettes. There is a kind of hierarchy among the
women; those who were squatting were higher in rank than those
who were standing. All the women clapped their hands and sang
in a monotonous rhythm: ehe, ehe, ehe, ehe, etc. This, I was
[533] assured, was no song, but "music." Some hordes have bartered

[532]

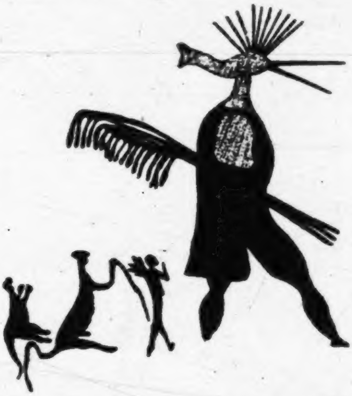


Fig. 19. Sorcerer in a Bird Mask, Followed by Spirits of Sickness. (From Rock Paintings in South Africa. From Parts of the Eastern Province and Orange Free State. Copied by G. W. Stow. With an introduction and descriptive notes by Dorothea Bleek. London, Methuen, 1930.)

dance drums one and a half meters high from the Okawango,
which on this occasion are played by men. [Fig. 19 appears
[184] here.] Among the Bushmen of the Sand Veld the female leader
of the ceremony does not wear the ornaments of the chief female
doctor; instead, the ornaments are hung on a tree. The position
of the chief female doctor is not permanently held by one person;
the chief doctor on occasion imparts supernatural powers to her.

755 The five doctors had taken off all their ornaments and
756 were naked except for the front apron. They put themselves
786 into an autohypnotic state by means of crowing, by producing
796

! Kung

[48 cont.]

755 sounds similar to those of ventriloquists, and by certain muscle
756 contractions. By pressing together the gluteal musculature of the
786 buttocks and at the same time holding the knee joints as far apart
796 as possible and pressing the legs together at the ankles, they
eventually produced a tonic trembling cramp of the entire musculature of the lower extremity, in which they reeled back and forth.
It is possible for anyone to put himself into an autohypnotic state
in this way, as this author also learned from the doctors. Soon
the rolled-up eyes indicated that the doctors were in a state of trance.
They danced around one another, fell over one another, and
lifted one another up. Some women also started making noise
with the dance rattles. The Bushmen were now convinced that
[787] /Nawa himself was dancing among the doctors, was visible to
them, and spoke with them. At this point they say something
[782] like prayers; they invoke the great spirit of the old Bushman who
has killed many elephants; they call the spirits of the dead who
have sent their little spirits of sickness over the living, and they
especially beg /Nawa to transfer these little spirits of sickness to
the doctors.

755 The doctors ran alternately to the bitten child and to
756 those ill with fever who squatted around the fire, stroking the
796 painful places, both from the armpits down to the soles and from
the shoulders down to the fingertips. Occasionally they also sucked
at the diseased spots or inhaled the breath from the mouths of the
patients.

From time to time, the doctors performed these operations upon one another, first of all, as they said, in order to distribute the poisons of sickness equally among all the doctors, but also in order to obtain power from the other doctors. Thus "charged," the doctor then again ran to the patients to take their poison.

Now and then the chief doctor ran screaming around the
[787] line of standing women and [49] disappeared into the bush in order
to ask the chief female doctor about the will of /Nawa. After
about an hour's dancing the chief doctor went to the bitten child.
The child had been bitten on the back, and this was rubbed with
fat and then medicine; then all the patients were again subjected
to the treatment described above, and soon thereafter /Nawa an-
[787] nounced through the mouth of the chief female doctor that the

!Kung

[49 cont.]

[787] 755 756 776 child, and the other patients, too, would be cured. That ended the first part of the ceremony.

Now the doctors' test began. The others, with the exception of the women making music, participated only as spectators. The doctors went on dancing, often holding their arms stretched out to the sky, with the fingers spread apart, and then springing to the fire and holding their hands over it. Flinging the hands toward the sky is done to give some of the little spirits of sickness back to the chief spirit /Nawa, who passes up and down along a thread between heaven and earth. It is not a gesture of prayer. Similarly, holding the hands over the fire is intended to achieve the same result, because the "little spirits of sickness" do not like the fire and hence will go away. Meanwhile, they thank the great spirit for having saved the child. Then they prayed to /Nawa that he might concentrate all the little spirits of sickness on the
[753] [761] doctors' candidate and kill him so that the people would be free of evil diseases, for the dying person takes the spirits of sickness with him. By brushing, rubbing, and blowing, the old doctors now transfer the spirits of sickness to the candidate. The latter is completely exhausted, collapses from time to time, is constantly lifted up again, and, staggering, he dances on, with foam appearing at his mouth. The other doctors taunt him: "You leopard, you lion, you elephant, you insurmountable mountain, you gigantically strong man, now you can't cope with the spirits of sickness we have given you." Once more the chief doctor runs to the former patient and transfers to the candidate any disease poison he may have gathered. This hellish spectacle lasted one and a half hours; then the chief doctor went to his oracle sitting in the bush and asserted that the candidate was too strong: we have concentrated all the little spirits of sickness upon him and prayed to the chief spirit that he might take (kill) him, but the candidate is stronger than the spirits of sickness. Nevertheless, the oracle commands: "Dance on." While this happened, a woman came out of the background -- in the half-dark I was unable to see whether or not it was the chief female doctor herself -- and busied herself around the cured child. She clapped her hands and beat her palms together, with the thumb sides in front of the child's face, and thus put even the child in a brief trance. The dancing continued until around midnight when the oracle finally declared that though the

!KUNG

[49 cont.]

755 chief spirit was not yet satisfied, she would appease him; the chief
756 spirit would voluntarily take the little spirits of sickness away, even
796 from the doctors. After these words the festival abruptly ended;
the people went to their fires and lay down to sleep.

The candidate had passed his examination (1).

[184] 1. Burchell (in the translation by Hellwald,
535 *Völkerkunde* [Ethnology], II, p. 519) has
756 given a similar account from the south: "One
796 foot remains stationary, while the other is in rapid and irregular motion without any definite change of position. The movement of the arms is so slight as to be negligible. At the same time the dancer sings without pause and keeps time with the movements. Occasionally he lowers his body and then suddenly raises it again, until finally he sinks to the ground exhausted, but still singing and rhythmically moving his body in time with the song of the spectators. Even though only one person dances at a time, the company present nonetheless also has something to do, etc."

756 When the excitement of the dance has
786 reached its climax and the dancers have fallen
789 into a kind of trance as a result of the continu-
796 ous dance movement, the shrill singing, the drinking of coffee, and not least the tobacco smoke, which they keep in their mouths for minutes on end for the intoxicating effect, then the doctors, in order to demonstrate their resistance to fire, trample with bare feet on the red-hot embers taken from the campfire and spread out on the sand. In the case of a number of the younger ones, however, I believe that their resistance to fire was not quite as great as they would have one believe, and they carefully avoided the pieces that were

!KUNG

[49 cont.]

756 glowing all too brightly. On the other hand,
786 I was surprised when on the occasion of such
789 a religious dance the so-called great doctor --
796 after he had danced by himself long and continuously in visible ecstasy, so that in spite of the cool night and even though he was almost completely naked, the sweat ran down his entire body -- suddenly, with slow majestic steps, walked through the high flames of the fire and in so doing had to step on the burning logs with his bare feet.

753 [50] On a later occasion I discussed these procedures
776 thoroughly and in detail with the chief doctor, Kasi, and with
Dube and the other doctors. One of the most striking aspects of the entire ceremony is perhaps the absence of the mysterious and the magical. These little spirits of sickness are not magical creatures but, in the eyes of the Bushmen, commonplace realities. The Bushmen know very well that many illnesses are not caused by the spirits of sickness alone. If someone eats something that has gone bad, he will become ill and will be given an emetic. If someone is wounded by a shot, the wound will be treated. If the injured person has pains only in the wound and otherwise feels all right, then no spirit of sickness has entered into him. If he feels sick all over, however, then he is possessed by a spirit of sickness. These little spirits of sickness are called dsao; they are little yellow men with a fat belly and a little tail. They obey the
other spirits, which, as described above, include the ordinary
(775) spirits from the bodies of deceased persons, the spirits who live
among the stars, and the chief spirit (/Nawa) himself. [Fig. 20 appears here.]

Finally, even the "great captain" can send the dsao directly over a person. /Nawa can do this with or without the consent of the "great captain"; the smaller spirits act on their own authority or at the command of these powers.

756 The doctors have their supernatural power directly from
776 the "great capitain"; they are as powerful as /Nawa and stronger

[50 cont.]

756 776 than the smaller spirits. Their treatment is correspondingly successful or unsuccessful. In other words, the doctors are vindicated in any case.

755 757 The treatment of illness thus follows two parallel paths: one with natural means (medicines and the like), directed at the local symptoms of the ailment; and one with supernatural means, directed at the dsao that cause the feeling of sickness.

[756] [796] 539 During the doctors' test the following song is sung:

[411]

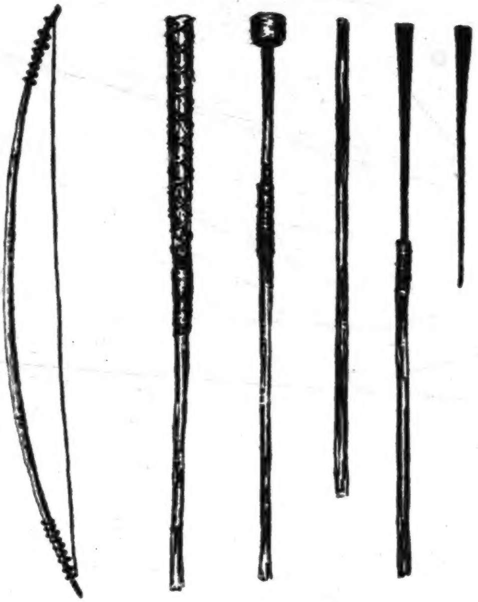


Fig. 20. Bushman Revolver of the !Kung (Foxhof; actual size [as shown in original text]).

e hehehe na ti //kau /goa dsao

During the treatment itself the following text is sung:

/o ma ga //goa ≠am /nai tha

He has no medicine yet, he must be
thrown with the medicine.

751 756 Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) have the following to report

---

1. Die Buschmänner, p. 424.

!KUNG

[50 cont.]

751 concerning the witch doctors:

756 [51] "The sorcerer can protect himself against the malignant spirits of evil deceased persons. After all, he can see them and knows the means for defending himself against them. The ordinary Bushman has no eye for them, but he has a means of keeping them at arm's length. In a small leather bag about as long as a finger [411] he keeps a bow carved out of horn and numerous horn arrows stuck in a shaft of sour grass [Cyperaceae]. If he has occasion to fear evil spirits, he shoots these miniature arrows in all directions with his miniature bow. Now the evil spirits cannot get at him.

"Since in addition he has the belief that an object merely thrown in the direction of a hated person in some mysterious fashion enters that person's body and gravely harms him, he likewise uses his miniature bow to keep a pursuer or enemy off his neck by shooting an arrow, with a curse, in the direction where he imagines his enemy to be, even when he knows that this person is miles away from him."

Whereas I myself and the highly experienced J. Lunkenbein 411 regard these Bushman revolvers as harmless magical instruments, [114] Seiner has a different opinion:

"The 'revolver' is a definite instrument of murder carried hidden in the modesty apron. The bow is ten centimeters long, the arrows are from ten to 12 centimeters long, and with the former they are put in a little bag adorned with beads. In addition it should be noted that the arrows, which are wrapped crosswise with little bands of tendon, are poisoned by being smeared with [276] little bits from the body of the arrow poison caterpillar. The Bushman ordinarily crushes a few of the caterpillars, which are available only in December and January, living on a few Commiphora shrubs (Commiphora dinteri, C. seineri) or as pupa at the roots under the ground, in a bone vessel with a little wooden stick that is always in the quivers; then he smears the arrow with some sticky stuff, such as wax or resin, whereupon he brushes the arrow with the viscous, slimy caterpillar mass, which, after drying, covers the arrow as a more or less thick brown crust. Up to a distance of seven meters it is possible to puncture the skin, drawing blood, with this miniature arrow; if the arrow tip were not blunt but pointed, like the one placed in the grass shaft, the arrow would

!KUNG

[51 cont.]

411 751 penetrate the flesh itself and introduce much more poison into the wound. The Bushmen try to protect themselves against this treacherous, but apparently frequently used weapon by attempting to immunize themselves against the poison. During a period of from three to four weeks they make small incisions on the crown of the head, which they keep open in order to rub increasingly greater doses of poison into the wounds. The consequences are purportedly symptoms of a more or less serious nature, with fever and vomiting."

The Mandrake Root (1)

000

1. In this connection cf. Hans Bächtold-Stäubli, Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens [Dictionary of German Superstitions], Vol. I. The principal source for the medieval superstition is a passage from the history of the Judaic War by Flavius Josephus (born 37 A.D.). He writes (Bellum judaicum, VII, 6, 3; works translated by Cotta and Gförer, Philadelphia, 1838, p. 762): "The valley that encloses the city of Machärus on the northern side is called Baara and produces a root of the same name. It is flaming red and in the evening throws out red rays; it is very difficult to tear it out because it withdraws from the person approaching it and remains still only if one pours urine and blood flow (menstrual blood) on it. Even then death is certain to result from any contact unless the entire root is carried away in the hand. One can also get it in another way, namely: One digs around it in such a way that only a small part of the root remains hidden; then a dog is tied to it, and when the latter tries to follow the person who has tied him, he pulls

[51 cont.]

000

> out the root, but dies on the spot as a sacrifice taking the place of the person who wants the plant. Once one has it, there is no longer any danger. People take so much trouble to get it because of its following peculiarity: the demons, that is to say, evil spirits of wicked human beings who enter into the living and kill them unless help is quickly given, are driven out by this plant as soon as one so much as brings it near the patient."

751 754 824 756 It comes from a little bush (/gui-sa). It does not occur in the Bushman region visited by me, but farther to the north. It is only found accidentally. When the doctor wanders through the bush, he sometimes hears low talking. Soon he sees a track resembling that of a snake and showing traces of blood. The root walks upright on this track, like a stick. He may not attack it, because he would die immediately; instead he attempts to approach from the direction in which the magic root is walking, opens the medicine bag, and lets the little mandrake walk in. Then the bag is firmly closed and at home is hung on a tall tree. The mandrake may not be taken into the hut. Something like blood drips out of the bag. Early the next morning a great fire is made; women and children and everyone assemble, each one bringing his little buck horn to obtain from the doctor some of the medicine coming from the mandrake. The medicine is rubbed on the skin. Bushmen who live among the Whites may not take this medicine because they will become sick from it. -- The medicine or the magic that is given out by the mandrake has little effect on those who were treated in the manner described above, [52] but it has considerable effect in other cases. This medicine is used to kill enemies through magic at a distance. When a doctor goes to a horde that does not yet have this medicine, he carries the horn filled with it around his neck. Some of the mandrake's magic poison passes into anyone who looks at him.

754 When the doctor sits down, anyone who has looked at him keels over and dies unless he is helped. If this person is an enemy, the doctor simply goes away and does not trouble himself any

!KUNG

[52 cont.]

754 further. The belly of the unconscious person swells enormously.
755 When all other procedures have proved futile and someone remembers that this or that doctor has the magic medicine, he is called in, takes some of his bloodlike fluid from his horn, and first smears his own feet and then rubs the patient's feet and, above all, the patient's stomach in a circular massage. Gradually the swelling recedes, the patient gets up, sits down, and is cured.

648 This story, based upon the fact that there are roots with bloodlike sap, became known by the farmers in a confused fashion and was the cause of the ridiculous fear of the secret poisons of the Bushmen that many farmers have.

15. The Elements

773
821 Heaven and earth, sun and moon, all was made by X'u, the great captain, the supreme being. In the sun-scorched deserts inhabited by the Bushmen, the sun is no dispenser of mercy. During the hot season even the Bushman is forced to remain in the shade in the daytime, because the sand is so hot that he cannot walk on it.

The sun was a daughter of man. The Bushmen had seen her, and the men had to carry this daughter, but since she burned with such heat on their shoulders, the men had to frequently change places. When the shoulders of all the men were burned, they left the sun lying in the bush and did not take her to the huts. This is the place from which the sun rose. She is from the great captain.

When the sun sets, she sits down on the earth to eat. When it is to be day, one of her shoulderblades goes to the other side of the world where it appears as the sun. The sun's rays (/gam ≠hǎsn) are the arms of the sun. The eclipse of the sun (≠Kắo) is caused by the lions so that they can more easily eat human beings.

The Bushman becomes cheerful only when the cool of the evening arrives, and at the time of the full moon he celebrates his festivals. There is no question of moon worship, however, among the !Kung Bushmen I visited.

[52 cont.]

Concerning the moon, I was told: "The moon was also
773 carried by people. It was not as warm as the sun, but very heavy.
821 So the men helped each other, and with great difficulty they
brought it to the huts. The moon was a man. He said: 'I prefer
to remain alone and do not wish to be among you.' Thereupon the
Bushmen said: 'If you go alone into the desert, you will surely
die.' But the moon did not obey, went out, and died. But then
it woke up again and rose like the sun; therefore, like the latter,
it is from the 'Great Captain.' When it disappears, it has died.
When only one side of it is visible, then it is young. When it becomes smaller, then it is old. The color of the moon comes
from its gall (/góo)."

The well-known story of the moon and the hare is told there as follows:

The moon once said to the hare: "I die and wake up again, you on earth should do the same." But the hare answered: "No, we cannot do that, we who are on earth, only you can do that because you are in the air, among us this is impossible; once we die, we do not wake up again." And the hare was right; it is still so today.

821 The eclipse of the moon, !nui dsao, is caused by the lions
[825] so that they can more easily steal into the Bushman huts.

[53] Comets, X 'u !gam, are stars of the great captain;
[777] they bring luck. When a shooting star, ≠gomma, falls, it is said,
[787] just as among us, that someone has died. The stars are the camp-
[775] fires of those spirits who at the command of the great captain
come down and fetch the souls of the dying.

[823] Earthquakes, X 'áno !gee, are omens of sickness. The
[787] rainbow, !kháni !náo, indicates a good year for rain.

(782) What the Bushman begs and prays for is not sunshine but
[776] rain. The great captain alone dispenses rain.

Lightning and thunder are not beings in themselves, but are caused by rain. When someone is killed by lightning, it is said: "The rain has killed him." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder at a distance, the rain is saying: "Today I shall thunder over the whole earth." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder on various sides, the clouds are speaking to one another. And when they touch each other with their heads, the

!KUNG

[53 cont.]

821 rain comes down and the clouds extend over the whole world. The
rain that has come down to earth does not stay there; the clouds
776 again come forth from the earth. The rain obeys the great captain.
821 In a storm the great captain knocks down the trees. If a
person says something bad about him, however, punishment is
not long in coming. X 'u says to the rain: "You must now go and
kill him." And the rain goes and kills the man with lightning.
But when the great captain says to the rain, "You must go now
and punish him," then the lightning merely strikes the windscreen
so that the whole thing collapses and the evildoer is thrown out.
[752] Then the people come running, rub the unconscious person with
medicine, and burn his skin with red-hot pieces of wood until he
comes to again.

Thus the angry great captain metes out punishment.

751 The Bushman concerned, however, is far from either privately
[782] or publicly begging the great captain for forgiveness. He
823 is convinced that this would do no good. On the contrary, he
821 puts his confidence in the following procedure: It is known that
where lightning strikes quartz sand, so-called lightning tubes or
fulgurites arise. This phenomenon has not remained hidden from
the sharp eye of the Bushmen. My friends told me: There where
lightning has struck one usually finds a stone called "rain tooth."
The person brushed by lightning scratches his skin with this stone,
[224] rubs in medicine which is supposed to bring luck in hunting, and
[777] tries to hunt down a gemsbok. If he succeeds, he cooks the meat
of the gemsbok with the rain tooth. If there is a second person
in the horde who has previously been brushed by lightning, that
person must eat the meat with him. Then medicine is made from
this meat and other ingredients, and this is placed in the horn of
a small bushbuck and carried around the neck by the person concerned.

751 When the "rain" comes again, he again goes to the hut
821 of the person struck, walks through the fire where the buck was
cooked, takes a bone of the buck (these bones remain lying on the
spot), and goes with it into the nearest tree. The bone cooks in
the tree, and the scum comes out on the side and the fat below.
When the rain has passed, the bone is again pulled out and
cooked with gemsbok horn and duiker horn and flesh; then it is

! KUNG

[53 cont.]
751 burned to a tinder and pulverized to make a medicine. The per-
821 son struck now has incisions made on his tongue, forehead, cheeks,
chest, and legs, into which fat is rubbed, and then this medicine is smeared on. Now, for the time being, he is safe from persecution by the rain.

16. Rain Magic

789 People turn directly to the great captain when they need
[illegible] rain. Not all doctors are able to procure rain, only the few who
796 enjoy the special favor of the great captain. Then a dance is organized, at which the doctors put themselves in the trance state described below. At the same time the following lament is repeated countless times:

[54]

[539]

!garắ gurĩ dee oa ≠am	Why does it not rain?
X 'uắ dĕ ŗá /gaa !ắi /gaa	Which lord is holding back the rain?
/gâm khui hẽ	The sun is hot.
!kûng-ná gurĩ /gŏắ /gŏắ	Will man live?
//gauắna tani /gee ≠gắo	Are the spirits bringing winter?
!kung /goá hŏŏ !koa !kung ō dshn-ǎ	Where is man supposed to drink?
//gaa /a //gõĕ !kung /n a //gõĕ	If it is so, can man only die of thirst?
!kunǎ //gõĕ ne oa	What can man do now?
Ha-!kung tam hā̆ m tam nắ /n gĕĕ	We had better stay here because we have been abandoned!

756 Finally the great captain in heaven hears the lamenting.
789 The doctor runs from the dance place into the bush and sees that
787 a thin thread is let down from the sky. The doctor climbs up on
796 this thread. The great captain comes to meet him half way. As soon as the doctor sees the great captain, he throws a red powder (ocher with medicine) toward him. Now the great captain draws the doctor up and leads him to the heavenly house. In front of this house [Fig. 20 appears here] the doctor sees the spirits of
[775] his deceased colleagues who year in, year out, stand before the house.

!KUNG

[54 cont.]

756 789 787 796 house. The doctor then begins to pray: "Lord, help us, the children are dying, we are dying of thirst and hunger." He prays and begs until the captain says: "It is good, I shall send water so that the children will have water and veldkost." Then the great captain again accompanies the doctor halfway down. As soon as the doctor is down below, he lets go of the thread which is immediately drawn up. Now the people dance and sing, for the rain has come:

[539]

/gá-é dsó-jā̄ /gaa	We rejoice now over the rain.
//ḕ gā̀ djusā̆ !kho ā́dshója /ga	Then we rejoice all together.
//ē̄ gā̄ hin a /gaa /gaa	Then the rain comes.
da //goā́ dshn !gu da adschŏ̌éa χ'u	Then the people praise the lord.

532]

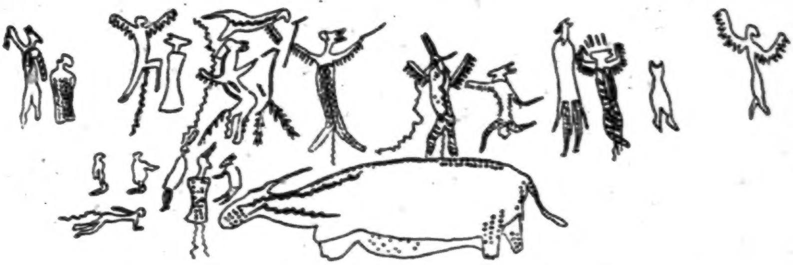


Fig. 21. Spirits of the Dead and Rain Animal (from Bleek, Rock Paintings in South Africa etc., Pl. 58).

776 821 Another !Kung said to me: "The great captain in the sky sends the rain and all that comes from above. If he does not want to, everything remains shut up. The rain is opened up above; a great vlei is there. I do not know the name of the great captain. The Hei//om call him Som-seb."

17. Religion

771 177 After a critical look at the sum of the conceptions determining the religious life of the !Kung, one recognizes, as would naturally be expected in the case of such an ancient people, that the elements

[54 cont.]

171 of various religions have found entry here. Among the Bushmen
177 tribes I visited there is the common belief in a supreme good be-
171 ing, whose name varies. The people described here [55] call the
176 supreme being X'u, "the lord" or "the great captain" (1). It is

[782] 1. According to Vedder, the supreme being is Huwe (Tsumeb). When the first veld fruits ripen, an offering is brought before sunrise. A freshly broken twig is inserted into a piece of wood with a hole bored through it. The people are seated in a circle, and the eldest passes around a tobacco or *dacha* pipe made out of a tubular bone.

the same expression that the Cape Hottentot used in speaking to the German traveler Kolbe, with the same significance and pronunciation 705 (2). The name could not have come from the[1]

114
171
176 2. J. Schapera (*The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, 1930) has critically referred to my observations on this point. In this connection I must note: the "great captain" among the eastern !Kung may rightfully be designated as "supreme being." I have already given his characteristics in my earlier publications.

[104]
[194] The spelling is correctly X'u. I use X' to designate a click that is even lower than "!". It is also found in other words, such as X'Ame = lion. Since not all publishers provide this character, I have sometimes been forced to write "Khu" or "Chu." This word, which the !Kung, too, translate as "lord" or "great captain," was already found, as Schapera indicates, among the Cape Hottentot in 1705 as Khourou = "Supreme Ruler" and "Great Chief" or "Great Captain"; Kolbe gives a quite analogous citation a little later, and Hahn reports of one old Nama, "The people say,

1 [CONTINUES ON p. 108 - ANALYST]

!KUNG

[55 cont.]

171
776
114

if it is thundering, the Lord (Khub, i.e., Tsui//Goab) is speaking; he is scolding them" [cited in English], Schapera, ibid., p. 381.

[174] The belief in a great captain was therefore common to the !Kung Bushmen and the Cape Hottentot, and the great age of the reports from the Cape exclude the possibility that missionary influence was at work here. Just as among the !Kung, this belief is apparently of very great antiquity among Miss Bleek's Naron and not simply taken over from the Christian Hottentot. In Ovamboland the concept X 'u merges with Huwe, and I believe that J. Schapera, too, regards Huwe, Chuwe, and X 'u as identical. The fact that the eastern !Kung have the belief in a supreme being was not discovered by me; rather, this discovery was made as early as 1910 by H. Vedder.

Everyone must be struck by the fact that there is substantial agreement between the reports concerning the heavenly house that I took down among the eastern !Kung and the data that H. Vedder supplies concerning the /Gamab of the Honigkaffir of the Otavi mountains. To be sure, these regions are also close to each other geographically. The question now arises: did the !Kung take this doctrine over from the Honigkaffir, as Schapera appears to assume, or is the reverse the case? Among the Bergdama of the central region, where I was able to carry out extensive studies, especially in the reservation of Okombahe, there is scarcely anything of these conceptions of the Honigkaffir. The Bergdama are a Negro tribe that has completely lost its original culture and language and for a long

[55 cont.]

114 time had a dependent relationship with the
171 Bushmen, whose quite miserable imitators
776 they had in part become. Even today Bergdama
who want to become witch doctors go from
Windhoek and Okombahe to the !Kung in
order to learn there. If the conceptions of
the Honigkaffir reported by H. Vedder were
indeed ancient Negro cultural traditions, then
it should surely be possible to find parallels
and, at least in the names referring to the
beyond, traces of the old language. Almost
always among the Bantu the world of the beyond
lies under the earth, whereas among the
Khoisan it is in the sky. For all these reasons,
I draw the conclusion that the Honigkaffir
have taken over the doctrine of /Gamab from
[177] the !Kung. The expression Erob or Elotse,
which is to be found among several Bushman
tribes, undoubtedly goes back to Christian
Hottentot influence. The two-fold names
of the supreme being among various groups in
Ovamboland, on the other hand, allows one
to conclude that here only one new name for
a well-known conception found entry, and,
[824] to be sure, with such intensity that the Hei//om,
at the Etosha Pan, for example, name their
most important medicinal root the Erob root.
Moreover, just as among the Honigkaffir,
among the Hei//om of the Etosha Pan, too,
it is /Gamab who sends thunder and lightning
and who kills people with shooting stars. J.
Schapera recognizes that the conception of
Huwe, Thora, and the mantis as creator, as
the giver of rain and success in hunting, and
as the protector of human beings is common
to all Bushmen (ibid., p. 195) and also has
its analogue among the Hottentot. He seems
to regard this being as a rain god, however.

!KUNG

[55 cont.]

114 //Gaua, whose name varies, stands opposite
171 him as an antagonist who does harm to human
776 beings. Schapera believes that the original
[775] designation //Gaua stood for the spirits of the
dead. This is largely correct. My researches
in various places, however, show that all
kinds of noncorporeal beings are understood
by the term //Gaua, in other words, spirits
in our sense, and immaterial forces of all
kind. The great captain, of course, is regarded
as actually corporeal by the !Kung.
P. W. Schmidt, on the other hand, has regarded
this //Gaua as the original god in
heaven. A comparison of the facts of the
history of religion may support this view.

114 If I understand Schapera correctly, we
776 agree that a benign high deity is indeed present
771 among the Bushmen, but one that he does
not want to designate as the supreme being.
I maintain, however, that this being must be
so designated in accordance with general usage.
[174] The peoples of the Khoisan group, according
to the evidence of the prehistoric finds, have
an active history behind them; the most diverse
races live on in them, and their culture
in its optimal adaptation to environmental
conditions is to be regarded as a residual culture.
It is therefore self-evident that their
world view should have a syncretistic character,
especially since religious ideas are cultural
elements with definite tendencies to diffuse
widely. Like all human beings, the
Bushmen and other primitives have thoughts
that are fundamentally the same as ours.
[773] Even the Bushman has a distinct need to discover
causality, but this need is felt less
with regard to causal or conditional explanations
for given conditions and more with regard

[55 cont.]

114 to processes. Hence, among the primitives
776 we find carefully thought out conceptions
771 concerning the origin of the world of ani-
773 mals, human beings, and plants more rare-
ly than a clear answer to the question con-
cerning the originator of the actual processes,
that is, of rain, storms, sickness, death, and,
generally, good and bad fortune in human
life. This originator is conceived as either a
human-like being above the clouds or ancestral
spirits. The religious need or the need for
protection is also generally oriented in terms of
114 these two conceptions. The greater the signifi-
771 cance accorded to the benign ancestral spirits
776 and the extent to which they can be influenced
by magical practices, the smaller the signifi-
cance of the heavenly being conceived as a
general causa officiens. J. Schapera will
doubtless agree with me whan I say that, in
contrast to the Bantu, the need for a causal
explanation and the religious need for protec-
tion are oriented around Thora, Huwe, /Gamab,
and others, and that among the Bushmen this
heavenly being therefore plays the role that we
impute to a "good supreme being." By way of
a critique of the Bushmen's conceptions it
should be emphasized that the Bushmen, like
all primitives, systematize their religious con-
ceptions only to the extent that this is neces-
sary for the satisfaction of their religious and
causal-explanatory needs. We shall thus en-
counter varying degrees of consistency in the
world picture from group to group, even from
individual to individual, and no investigator
will be able to discover a thoroughly organized
system of Bushman religion since such does
not exist. Whatever I could get from my

[55 cont.] WHATEVER I COULD GET FROM MY
114 individual informants I took down with the
771 exactness of a trained scientist, faithful to
776 the letter and with due regard for all pre-
[124] cautions. From these notations I have drawn
the inevitable conclusion that a benign supreme being is a reality in their world picture.

776 surrounding Hei//om tribes, [56] for they use the word Somseb.
171 We should sooner think of Huwe. Huwe or Hue was what the !Kung
Bushmen of Tsumeb examined by Vedder called the supreme being. I also know the expression Chuwa from the Bushmen of
Ukuambi. This supreme being is conceived of in human form;
776 it looks like a Bushman and also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky
772 in a house that has two floors; his wife, whose name is unknown,
lives on the lower floor, as well as many children. The souls
[775] of the deceased live on the upper floor. "The house" (it is supposed to be similar to, but not entirely like a Bushman windscreen) "is hairy on the outside, like a caterpillar." There are various things up there, but only a single house, namely, that of the captain. Honey, crickets, and fat flies are there in great abundance. The great captain lives on them. In addition, there are a great many butterflies. The following are regarded as the
776 functions of this supreme being:

1. In the opinion of some, the great captain made the sun, moon, and everything. In the opinion of others, the highest of the spirits, /Nawa, did this.

2. The great captain calls the doctors to their calling and gives them supernatural power.

3. He is the lord of the rain and the lightning.

4. Through the highest of the spirits he sends luck on the hunt or on the search for veldkost.

5. When someone thinks or speaks ill of him, he punishes
[688] him with lightning. He is not concerned about the other activities
of his Bushman children, however, unless someone swears falsely.
695 The Kung have a regular oath, and one of my informants reported
776 the following to me:

When a group goes hunting and one of the participants is

[56 cont.]

695 776 not seen for the duration of the hunt, he is suspected of having sneaked away. Then he swears by the great captain nu χu, and all believe him.

776 Ordinarily, however, the great captain has everything taken care of by the highest of the spirits and lesser spirits. The chief concern of the Bushmen, therefore, is to stay in the good graces of these spirits, but the great captain does offer protection against all evil spirits, and for that reason people turn to him [762] with the following prayers in case of severe illness and before the start of a journey:

[57]

[539] χ 'u, χ 'u hũi mi, //kai tsao mi to 'oba !khu !gaise ≠ani u mĩ /nāna /ge a !nore gana ti /ge a gana ti tsa /Nane /ā mi tsu (1)	Lord, Lord, help me, raise me. "the lord shall lead me well to the place, where I am going, and he shall lead me back well, so that I come home safely."

1. Notation of the Dama interpreter.

[224] Before the hunt the doctors pray to the great captain for hunting luck. There is no doubt that the Bushmen conceive of this "great captain" as an all-powerful and at the same time benign being. His executive organ, as has been noted, is the highest of the Gauab. The latter is called "the Gauab" by the common people, but he has a name known only by the doctors, and saying it may have serious consequences. Since I finally [123] had the honor to be regarded as an equal by the doctors, I learned his name. He is called /Nawa. They were unable to give me an interpretation of this name, but Miss Bleek, from dance songs of the Angola Kung, reports the word /Nwa-se, supposedly an abbreviation for Nwima-se = new moon. According to this, we [174] might be able to see in this chief Gauab the high god of a lunar- [771] mythological religion which has been superimposed as a foreign element upon the primitive monotheism of the χ 'u or Huwe faith. As is always the case in such matters, the supreme being of the invading religion has been transformed into a more or less evil [171] principle. It also functions as such in the belief of the Nama and

[57 cont.]

776 Dama, and the translation of Gauab as "devil" comes from this
[171] circle of ideas. A baptized !Kung in /Nuiseb also told me that
the Bushmen had been made by the devil, for the latter, as the
old doctors reported to me, had once said to things: "You shall
[773] be a kudu, you an eland, you a Bushman," etc., and so everything
was. Among the !Kung Bushmen /Nawa is by no means always
evil. He directly brings luck on the hunt, and a kind of
primitial offering is sent to him in that small pieces of the flesh
of the game are thrown into the fire.

/Nawa, however, usually also sends sickness, in part with,
and in part without the consent of the great captain. /Nawa is
neither in heaven nor on earth, but runs about on threads in the air,
where the other small spirits also run about. Whether or not /Nawa
[821] has a wife is unknown. The wind has no role in the tall bush
forest, but my experience among the Bushmen of the western
Kalahari and the Namib indicates that /Nawa is also connected
in some way with the wind, since his most personal appearance
is in the violent wind spouts, and among the Naukluft Bushmen
one is not supposed to speak ill of the wind because the Gauab
would overturn the windscreen.

Aside from /Nawa, there is a whole host of other small
spirits, such as those who are at the disposal of the great captain
[821] and /Nawa and live in the sky, where the stars are their campfires.
They are the ones who steal the soul from human beings and take
it to the great captain. Then there are those who, like /Nawa,
run to and fro on threads stretching between heaven and earth.
Very evil little spirits live in the water, and the forest and veld
are peopled by the little Gauab. These, however, are only the
[775] flesh-born spirits of deceased human beings. And with this we come
to

18. Doctrine of the Soul and Belief in Immortality

775 The life principle of human beings is the soul, cha. The
[774] same word also means heart. This cha is immortal. The Gauab
who live among the stars take it to the great captain's house. The
souls of all peoples, even those of the Whites, live there on the

!KUNG

[57 cont.]
second floor. They do nothing and they eat nothing. According 775
to other Bushmen tribes I visited, the great captain uses these *cha* in order to make new human beings, but among my friends of the bush veld, the *dolce far niente* on the second floor of the heavenly house is the final goal of man. The souls of all, the good and the wicked, come there. There is no punishment in the beyond.

[58] The body is buried in the earth. After a few days the flesh revives and then disappears. The Gauab of the deceased has arisen, comes out of the grave, goes hunting, eats and drinks, and as a shade leads a life similar to that during his lifetime. The grave is his house; the shade (1) goes to sleep there when it is ti[illegible]. These spirits cannot enter into stones, plants, or animals, or transform themselves into such. There is no trace of this true animism. The Gauab is rather a reduced version (since the skeleton remains in the grave) of the once living Bushman. He looks like a Bushman, but many of these Gauab are lame. They are generally malignant, and if someone walks past the grave and [753]
annoys them, they send the little spirits of sickness, who killed [776]
them during their lifetime. These spirits of sickness are thought of as little yellow men with big stomachs.

Among the !Kung Bushmen, then, we have a definite doctrine of two souls. Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report:

"The /Oresen were wicked people. They died, but cannot have any rest. Their wickedness does not let them rest. They always want to inflict harm. This is the way that they behaved in life. This is also what they want to do after death. They torment people, frighten them, and try to kill them. When they have killed people, they eat their flesh. They come at night. The sorcerers can see the evil spirits. The sorcerers then warn the others who cannot see. The /Oresen live in the graves.

---

1. "Living corpse" would perhaps be better than "shade."

2. *Die Buschmänner*, p. 421.

!KUNG

[58 cont.]

775 769 From there they make their rounds. They always return to their graves. Hence, a Bushman always makes a detour around a grave. He does not point at a grave with his finger, and he does not call to a companion: 'There is a grave!' A great detour is made around the area where there is a grave. When a Bushman unexpectedly passes a grave, he puts a stone on it. That is a greeting for the dead person. In so doing, one makes the grave more secure against wild animals."

767 775 From the region of Foxhof I have the following information to add:

"The Gauab that arises from the flesh of the corpse remains seated by the grave. When a relative passes by and the Gauab is sitting out in the open, the Gauab thinks: I know this person well; why is he passing by here without giving me any water. Then the Gauab becomes angry and makes him sick. Then when the doctors sing, they recognize what the trouble is and say: Today you passed by the grave of N. and did not give anything. Tomorrow morning very early you must take water and an ostrich egg and place them by the grave. Such a Gauab also 775 787 goes hunting, kills game, makes a fire, cuts open the game, takes the fat, and brings it to the doctors while they are singing. [756] The Gauab, whom the other people cannot see, sits down at some distance from the dancers. The doctor sees him, however, and goes to the Gauab. The latter tells him where the game lies, and the doctor tells this to the other people, who fetch the game and praise the Gauab.

775 "The stars are the campfires of the Gauab.

"The Gauana take the souls that they have stolen to their village and then back to the grave. The people often hear a voice in the veld; this is the Gauab calling, and on their way they find a piece of dead game. When the Gauab is out hunting and has gone too far from his grave, he must sleep in a tree. Some of the souls stolen by the Gauab are brought to the captain of the Gauana. The souls that are taken there again become actual persons up above with the captain of the rain. The others, however, are the little Gauab who go hunting here."

[114] 776 The observations made by Bleek (3) 50 years ago seem to be especially significant.

3. W. H. J. Bleek and L.C.Lloyd,

[113]

[58 cont.]

[113] Specimens of Bushmen Folklore, London,
1910-11, pp. 10-13.

776 be especially significant. The !Kung at that time told of a being called /Chue, who transforms itself in turn into various fruit trees and veldkost plants, into a Herero, etc. One day he transformed himself into a //gui tree, his wife ate of it, the tree disappeared, and /Chue changed into a fly. Another time he even became a waterhole, then again a gecko; at night [59] he always changes back into a little human being. The Herero look for him, but cannot find him. /Chue then makes a fire and dies. His father sees this and then moves to his homeland on a large mountain called //Noa. We shall probably not go wrong if we identify this /Chue with Huwe. This Huwe, as is known, is sometimes equated with the great captain X'u. In this old setting he also has distinct traits of Heiseb.

782 [534] The !Kung who were W.H.J. Bleek's informants were also familiar with a prayer song addressed to the new moon. In accompaniment, they blew on trumpets made of antelope horns. (Bleek-Lloyd, *ibid.*, p. 15.)

787 The old !Kung called the prophesy sticks /Chu, which evidently is the same name again as that of the great captain and is in agreement with Dornan's report concerning the Masarwa that Modimo himself spoke from the prophesy sticks.

755 769 Vedder reports that in case of illness a messenger is sent to an ancestor's grave and prays: A dsi-dsi mi !hâ tí /χ'ai-a? (Why is my son ill?) ≠nu /kôa (to live in health).

774 825 775 171 While my informants denied the presence of any animistic conceptions, the old !Kung believe that certain snakes, lizards, and antelope found in the vicinity of graves represent spirits of the dead (1), as they do among the Bantu.

---

1. W.H.J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd, *ibid.*, p. 430.

!KUNG

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

535
539

ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be	We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

χ'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa	Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe	Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

622 Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me
782 concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder
769 dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

782 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are
881 implored in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

"If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband
787
695 suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up
684 the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

!KUNG

[59 cont.]

20. Law

671 The norms of natural law among the Bushmen are the
627 same as among us. The family head is at the same time the supreme judge. Since even the nearest kin group is regarded in a sense as a foreign state, however, the boundaries between law, war, and vengeance are exceedingly fluid. The domain of law, therefore, is actually confined to the family. Since the only
[681] punishment that can be effectively inflicted is the death penalty, it is rarely applied among married men, [60] for the judges and executioners must provide for the condemned man's survivors. In olden times the women condemned to death were burned or beaten to death with the kirri, and the men were killed with the poisoned arrow.

423 The right to personal possession of utilitarian objects, honey, and certain types of veldkost is strictly respected. The soil is common property of the kin group, as is any big game
[224] that is killed. If a wounded animal dies in the domain of the neighboring kin group, the hunter must go there and report it.
[578] The dead prey must then be divided. Since, however, there are some unpaired organs, fighting and killing easily arise concern-
[627] ing them. Blood vengeance is practiced, but can be resolved through negotiation.

423
614 "Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

[361] "There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 1,000 [sic] kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions, come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

769
614 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's territory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's

!KUNG

[60 cont.]

769 territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced
614 by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place (1).

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 434.

775 As has already been said, the Bushman does not believe
[626] in punishment after death. On the other hand, he is convinced that the evil that he himself has done will befall him or his dogs in the same way.

681 In former times banishment from the kin group was likewise
648 customary, and the exile would soon perish, since the Bushman
177 cannot survive by himself in the wilderness for any length of time. Nowadays, such individuals, just like those who were expelled from the Bantu tribes, move to land owned by Europeans and find work there. It is obvious that they do not help to improve the reputation of the Coloreds.

695 In cases of doubt, the Bushman swears by the great captain: nu X'u.

681 Instead of formal expulsion, the people may boycott out-
762 laws, who are thereby driven to such despair that they commonly commit suicide. Suicides also occur for other reasons.

21. Conflicts with Europeans

648 Before the police zone boundary was erected, the Bushmen found themselves in a latent state of war with their neighbors. Part of their list of sins will be cited here.

According to Toke, the !Kung near Keibeb in 1925 attacked eight Barotse [Lozi] and killed them, and purportedly ate them. Later, three Ovambo were attacked by surprise, killed,

!KUNG

[60 cont.]

648 and their brains eaten. (The latter report probably referred to the people of Karakowisa.) Concerning our !Kung, a farmer wrote at that time (1927):

"Lately, complaints about the slaughtering of cattle stolen by the Bushmen are increasing at a disquieting rate. Only in very rare cases can the culprits be brought to justice. It is true that the police make the greatest effort to do so, but success is rare. In the first place, a single white policeman with a native police assistant cannot do a great deal in view of the great mobility of the Bushmen. He will usually appear on the scene too late to be able to take up the prosecution successfully. The farmers concerned have made all kinds of proposals, which usually amount to the idea that the police and farmers should simultaneously set out after the wandering Bushmen. It would probably be best to draw a clear boundary line for the idle Bushmen, across which they may not pass into the territory inhabited by Whites. That the Bushman knows how to respect boundaries is apparent from the fact that he is careful not to enter the hunting territory of another kin group. Every Bushman caught within such a delimited territory inhabited by Whites [61] should without further ado be arrested and punished by forced labor, which, in view of his holy terror of any kind of work, would probably be most unpleasant to him.

"Under the conditions prevailing at the present time it is primarily the farmers bordering on Bushman territory who suffer to the extent that many of them are seriously considering giving up farming, because otherwise the last head of cattle will be slaughtered within the foreseeable future. The farmer, with his neighbors, should be allowed to follow the trails leading from fresh slaughtering places and, in serious cases, to fire on the Bushmen, just as the Bushman, after all, would use his bow and arrow. The Bushman recognizes no authority; hence he should be placed under extraordinary laws. When, as recently happened here, a strong police patrol spends almost a month to catch cattle thieves, and then the 12 accused, who doubtless were guilty of slaughtering the animals, all have to be acquitted because a witness for the Crown fails to support the case for the prosecution, then it is

!KUNG

[61 cont.]

648 clear that our laws are unsuitable for these Bushmen. One can readily understand that the injured farmer, who in a short period of time has had about 20 head of cattle stolen and eaten, will become desperate in view of the acquittal, since he can well imagine that as a result of the acquittal, the reasons for which the Bushmen do not understand anyway, the latter will be tempted to further acts of depredation."

From the Epukiro region another farmer reports:

"I live not far from the boundary of Bechuanaland. There are a great many vagrant Bushmen here, who are armed with poisoned arrows. These Bushmen frequently attack the cattle of the natives whenever it is any distance from the kraal. A few days ago Bushmen stole and killed two head of cattle belonging to a Herero kraal about six miles from our camp. The Herero followed the trail of the Bushmen and found them. The latter immediately made use of their bows, and one of the Herero was wounded by an arrow on the right side of his chest. The wound was inflicted about four o'clock in the afternoon; about one o'clock in the afternoon of the following day the wounded man died. As soon as my friend learned of the situation, he sent some permanganate of potash to the kraal with directions as to its use. But this seems to have arrived too late. One of the horses was slightly wounded in the head, but it appears to be nothing serious. I saw the corpse of the Herero early in the morning after his death; it was badly swollen and decomposed. The natives said that decomposition set in even before death. -- As will be remembered, three years ago the Gobabis magistrate, Mr. Reyneveldt, was wounded by Bushmen with a poisoned arrow in the same region and died shortly thereafter."

(These data are taken from the Windhuker Zeitung.) [Fig. 21a appears here.]

Chapter 7

The Bushmen of the North

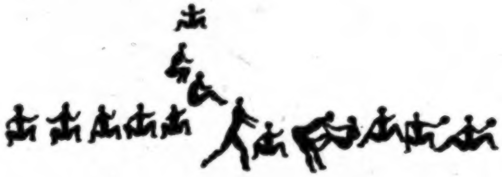
114 Our best information concerning the Masarwa comes from Dornan (1) and Holub (2). In what follows an outline sketch will be given of the culture of this tribe, based upon these two authors.

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygrines and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

2. Holub, Die Masarwa.

342 According to Dornan, the Masarwa once preferred to live in caves, where their ancestors had made paintings. The Bush-
[245] men in the Wankie and Ngami districts have plaited mats of grass or reed, with which they cover their windscreens. Sometimes they make a kind of roof covered with grass; otherwise they have ordinary windscreens.

[532]
[172]



[113] Fig. 21a. Representation of a Curing Scene. In the background, the female doctor who serves as oracle. (Eastern Cape Province. From J. P. Johnson, The Prehistoric Period in South Africa, 1910.)

322
411 For the wood of the bow the Masarwa use very straight little tree trunks. After the bark is removed, they are tied to a straight tree and left to dry. The wood is then given its final drying over the fire and is placed in water so that it will not splinter. The middle of the bow is also commonly wound with tendons. The bow is often greased and never unstrung. The finished bow is smoothed with a rough stone.

MASARWA

[62 cont.]

293 Like the prehistoric Bushmen, these people, too, wear forehead bands, into which the arrows are stuck during the hunt.

726 754 Dornan (p. 139) reports that the Kalahari Bushmen hold dances before the start of a war, and on these occasions they shoot little poisoned arrows from equally small bows in the direction of the enemy or of the sun. They believe that in so doing they are killing the shadow spirit of the enemy. They do not like to give these miniature bows and arrows to anyone because they are afraid that they might come into the possession of their enemies and thus bring about their own deaths.

226 Fishing is still quite well developed among the Masarwa people. Stone walls are sometimes built in the river, in which weir-baskets are set, or they sit in the river bed next to one another with weir-baskets, while women and children drive the fish toward them. In smaller waterholes, grass and brush are piled up on one side. Then the Bushmen step into the water and push the grass wall ahead of them, thus driving the fish into a corner. Individual fish are also speared with the assagai. According to Hodson, the best fishermen are the Bakoba Bushmen on the Okovanggo. They have harpoons and rush nets that are drawn diagonally across the river.

778 G. A. Farini (3) had an opportunity to observe the manufacture of arrow poison in the Chanse Veld. The men gathered at a certain place; women were not allowed to be present. The sap was removed from about 30 to 40 poisonous bulbs by means [535] of successive incisions and was collected in a pan. As each incision was made, the Bushmen danced in a circle, making a kind of grunt. Then a hyena hide was spread out with the hair side down, and on it was spread the contents of the bags that contained the dried heads of poisonous snakes, as well as two pieces of reed approximately 15 centimeters long. Then a number of freshly killed poisonous snakes were brought. The poison sacs were removed amidst singing and the clapping of hands. Meanwhile the pan containing the poison had been put on the fire and was boiling;

---

(113) 3. G. A. Farini, Durch die Kalahariwüste [Through the Kalahari Desert], Leipzig, 1886.

[62 cont.]

278 one person after another stepped up to the pan and threw his share of snake poison into it. Then the pan was removed from the fire. [535] The Bushmen now performed a new dance, in which they imitated the convulsions of animals dying from the poison. After another half hour the poison was clear, and when everyone had convinced himself that it was the right color, a red mineral powder was added and thoroughly stirred into it. Then poisonous spiders were taken out of the reeds and thrown into the [63] pan. These came from the Langen Mountain in the Cape Colony, in other words, had been brought from afar. When the mass had thickened somewhat more, the arrows were smeared with it and dried in the shade (*ibid.*, p. 380).

595 These Bushmen, the M'Kabba, are monogamists.

563 Farini maintains (*ibid.*, p. 171) that he met a black Pygmy who came from the tribe of the Kara-Kara north of Amboland (1).

> 1. At the mission station Urikualuthi I was told by the missionary, Mrs. Quarni, who has made most meritorious contributions to investigations of the country, that shortly before the war a number of black Pygmies who lived in the swamps along the Kunene had come to Chief Moala. She saw these people.

252 Concerning the food of the Bushmen, Dornan has the following to report: The Marsawa [*sic*] eat meat either roasted or grilled, rarely boiled, because they believe that the latter will 251 make them sick. The Bushmen of Basutoland cut the meat into tiny pieces, mixed it with fat, and then sewed it into hide sacks as preserved meat. As reserves in case of famine, the Kalahari Bushmen keep giraffe skins on tall trees. Veldkost is stored in turtle shells and ostrich eggs, as is water. The Basutoland Bushmen gathered grass seeds and stored them for times of hunger.

252 The *tsama* are prepared in the following manner: A hole is dug, and a fire is made in it. As soon as the soil is sufficiently

MASARWA

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

532 535 Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones. 323 They still know the art of pottery. 302 White or red body painting is customary.

304 A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and (751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 836 684 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and incest and adultery are punishable by death. 584 As a rule, the consent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen and those of Bulalima. 582 One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may not marry a person of the same totem. 304 881 Circumcision is practiced. As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. [836] Sexual intercourse between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. 761 As among the Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. 764 178 In olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush; nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

MASARWA

[63 cont.]

764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," *Anthropos*, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not; in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, *Huwe ka hume ie ie* [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: *Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie* (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] [174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [173] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

[64 cont.]

825 existence. The appearance of the ring-necked snake indicates
[787] misfortune.

Animistic conceptions are more pervasive in the world
774 picture of the Masarwa (2). According to Dornan, each thing is a

821 2. The Kalahari Bushmen (Dornan, op. cit., p. 165) have some knowledge of the stars. The Southern Cross is a giraffe, but the Cape Bushmen regard it as a group of lions. Some of the Bushmen regard the stars as animals or human beings who have gone up to the sky.

773 The following story is told: During the girls' initiation a girl who possessed magical powers nodded to some lions and they were immediately transformed into stars.

The Cape Bushmen told another story: During the girls' initiation a girl was quarreling with her mother because the latter refused to give her certain roots that may not be eaten at such times. The girl seized the roots and the ashes and threw them toward the sky. The roots became stars, the ashes became the Milky Way. -- Shooting stars signify misfortune.

774 kind of spirit. Human beings and animals can each transform
[825] themselves into the other. Individual doctors change into leopards, and many animals are regarded as other appearances of man, especially the springbok, the baboon, and a number of snakes. When a ring-necked snake approaches a village, it indicates
[177] death. Bantu influence is undoubtedly at work here.

The !Kung doctrine of two souls reappears in a different
[184] form among the Masarwa. The shadow of each thing, as well as
774 that of the human being, is its other soul. They believe that the
775 shadow soul remains in the vicinity of the grave, while the self walks in another place where it meets with the fathers. It is supposed to be warm there, and supposedly there is much game. In the beyond one acts the same as on this earth.

MASARWA
OK OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

600 769 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 [774] Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the [825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals, [824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe [776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

666 551 602 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

105 101 Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo delta, J. Seiner reports:

"The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting. [563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe [144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease, AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY.

---

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

OKOVONGGO BUSHMEN
NOG AU

[65 cont.]

000 and racial mixture is progressing rapidly. The Bugakwe live in
105 five villages with 220 persons in the western Okovanggo Valley
[161] 101 down from the Mahango ford and are in bondage to Libebe, with
131 whom, however, they frequently have quarrels over the amount
of deliveries; on the occasion of one such dispute in June, 1905,
a Mambukuschu was killed by an arrow. The Garikwe live in
[161] eight villages with 430 souls in eastern Ǎrmellande from the
Paliba Swamp to the beginning of the valley, while the Goekwe
live in southern Ärmellande west of the river course. Concerning
[161] the latter, I found only a winter village with 90 souls, and that
north of the mouth of the Namassere on a river island.

"The Goekwe might well be identical with Passarge's
Gokwe, whose territory extends from the western edge of the Tauche
swampland deep into the Kaukau Veld; the Tschorilo Mountains
belong to them. During the rainy season the Tannekwe undertake
hunting expeditions in the neighboring steppes. The Hukwe, whose
[161] number I estimate at at least 600, are less racially mixed than
the Tannekwe, but likewise live in settled villages, from which
during the dry season they swarm out in family groups to gather
or hunt in the forest steppe as the need arises."

Chapter 8

The Nogau Bushmen of Epukiro

During my stay in the mission station of Epukiro, I had an
101 opportunity for closer contact with the Bushmen who live in a kind
of symbiosis with the Betschuana (2). They call themselves Nogau,
specifically ≠no /gna !khou, that is, people who live by the water.
101 They are farther north of the Omuramba Epukiro toward Alexeck.
131 North of them are the Gai-kwe, and the !Kung are farther east and

---

[113] 2. I have given a detailed report on the Europeanized Betschuana village of Epukiro in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 65 (1933).

[65 cont.]
101 north. Beyond this there is a great river and many black people
131 (Okawango). They know only the Herero as their western neighbors.
In other words, they came much later than the latter. Unquestionably as recently as 20 years ago some people of this group were
still settled along the central Omurambo Omatako, where F. Seiner
reports them from Otjituo and Nuragas. The Naron live south of
them, and to the southeast the ≠Auin. In the southwest, at least
formerly, there were Bushmen of the Hei//om group and /Gowanin
(Sand Kaffir). Probably these Hei//om were the people formerly
designated as Saan. Nogau, ≠Auin, and Naron actually belong to
[101] the Kalahari group. Throughout the farm zone which formerly
[175] extended to the English frontier, the tribal units were more or less
648 destroyed, and there arose a mixed Bushman population which
constantly replenished its numbers from the free tribes. On the
other hand, however, Bushmen from the farm zone always went
back to the bush, partly of their own free will and partly in flight
from the police. In the Gobabis district the boundary of the
police zone coincides with the land boundary. The relationships
between the Whites and the Hereros on the one hand, and the Bushmen on the other, are therefore [66] very tense. A few years ago,
175 648 after the Bushmen had been prohibited from hunting big game,
they rebelled and declared a feud against the magistrate in Gobabis
by shooting some arrows against the door of his house one night.
The magistrate, Van Rynefeldt, wanted to hunt them down in the
bush, but was struck by a poisoned arrow shot from ambush and died.
A great roundup of Bushmen was organized and many of them were
taken to the prison in Gobabis, where a number of them died as a
[178] result of the vitamin-poor diet. Since then the Bushmen in this
region have again chosen a chief and represent a modest power.
As a result of these conditions, it was much more difficult to gain
123 their confidence than in the north. In this respect, P. Watterott
and the village mayor of Epukiro, Franz Arenat, were especially
helpful to me. These Bushmen are of special interest since there
198 is a special women's language among them. It is called Hee-aziba
he auseashu. It is in part also spoken by the children and is characterized by having many words that have no clicks. It was only
with great difficulty that I was able to take down a few words, for
example:

3: Lebzelter--128 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
NOGAU

[66 cont.]

192
198

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Evening	n !ő̋n	áka uj	–
Shoulder	//kówi	schu !gnóru	tuwi
Alone	n n/e	–	nó-e
Old	/gá	tsau !gna	X 'uwu
Dread	!goatschi	–	daú-tsi
Arm	//há	!gòm	X 'ùm
Armband	gama gama	–	gama gama
Ashes	do	–	dá dówa
Branch	!Khai ≠haúsi	–	dá-i
Eye	/gá	–	schoú-dắ
Ax	/i	–	–
Cheek	tsoǔ //á	/gám	–
Beard	tsi ≠khói	–	dschi-tũe
Stomach	≠gu	–	dǔb
Leg	//gǔm	/gowɾ	ju Tăm↘
Mountain	//khámi	//khawɾ	ǔ káshe
Bee	so schum	schúm	schǔm-si
Bitter	//ga↘	//gà	dschi da

3: Lebzelter--129 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
NOGAU

[66 cont.]

192
198

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Leaf	dorá	dorà	dschi do-a
Blind	schőŭ	/ga	–
Flower	ngő	gő	tsi-gu
Blood	/a↘	/ao↘	/ou↘
Bride	tsaú	á	–
Bridegroom	≠gou ≠khán	≠gnom	–
Firewood	nda	–	da
Well [for water]	//ga	–	ha
Chest	//goá	/goá	dschi-túa
Chameleon	!nobésa '	–	nábasa
Thumb	//gaŭ goë	≠goŭ	dőŭ dŭm
Thorn	//gái	–	/gai
Thirst	măm /gám	/gam	tăm-du
Egg	dschi !nŭ	gő	dschi nŭ
Lizard	!gőrŭ	!gorŭ	dorŭb
Intestines	!gusi	ssi	–
Fever	//gái	≠gi	–
Finger	!goŭ	!gou	dőu

3: Lebzelter--130 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
NOGAU

[66 cont.]

192
198

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Flame	da táli	–	tarí
Flesh	//khá	//khá	thá
Fly	soa soá	–	doá doá
Flea	soa soa /né	–	doá
Wing	!kóhi	–	dschi tǚi
River	≠nō̃	–	nō
Woman	tsao! gná	!gn-ná	tháǘ
Poison	!óa	!o↘	–
Grass	//khei-si	//ei	ei-si
Hair	ñi !khói	!khoi	ikhoisi
Hand	!gaǔ !n	!gou	taúne
Neck	≠gai	–	rǘ-tè
Hard	≠khaǔ↘	–	dschi-tau
Hot	!khúi	–	û
Hunger	//kha-be	–	dawí
Porcupine	//gan↘	–	tam
Cold	//ga-ú	–	tse
Small	tsē ma	–	tsáma

3: Lebzelter--131 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

NOGAU

[66 cont.]

192
198

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Bone	≠ŭ	–	ŭ
Leather	!noŭ	–	tháu
Liver	dsché	–	tē
Light [easy]	schúi	–	da-sii
Man	!hoá	!hoá	hoá
Tired	≠oé	–	oe
Mouse	!hŭi	–	nui
Navel	né	–	ne
Night	/gu	/ngŭ	du
New	se	–	dise
Ear	/húi	–	m-húi
Guinea fowl	a di	–	á-ni
Pipe	!khó	–	oh
Smoke	da schŭá	–	dásua
[67]			
Rich	!gáŭcha	–	ti
Rib	≠kḥási	–	dási
Salt	dimí	–	diri
Shadow	!kha-di	–	khári
Bad	/kháŭ	–	!khä↘

[67 cont.]

192
198

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Beautiful	/hm	–	hm
Tobacco	shoró, schóli	–	só-re
Day	/gam ña	–	tai-khé
Forest	!goá	–	dain tu
Warm	//ŭ	–	tűi
Road	//náma	–	ñna
Water	!gǔ	–	du

[Fig. 22-23 appears here.]

211 [68] The accompanying figures show the incising on messenger staffs, in other words, a kind of picture writing. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., page 430, observed in this connection:

> "Anyone who does not want to go to a friendly kin group (202) himself, but sends a messenger instead, must give this messenger a messenger staff. It is about as thick as a thumb and bears numerous signs of leaves, worms, caterpillars, pictures of human beings and animals, and other figures. The figures look almost as though they were burned in, but they are made in quite a different fashion. The peeled stick is warmed in the fire, and in the upper layer of wood thus softened the drawings are pricked point by point with an awl or a sharp thorn. When a figure is finished, one uses the core of the ero plum, which, when roasted, is black and can be used as a kind of paint, like a firm mass of fat. The black, oily color is spread over the figure and soaks into the pricked holes. The superfluous color is then wiped off with a soft piece of hide. The Bushmen claim that every friendly kin group knows the different messenger staffs of the chiefs of other friendly kin groups and that forging messenger staffs is a hopeless and impossible undertaking."

NOGAU

211

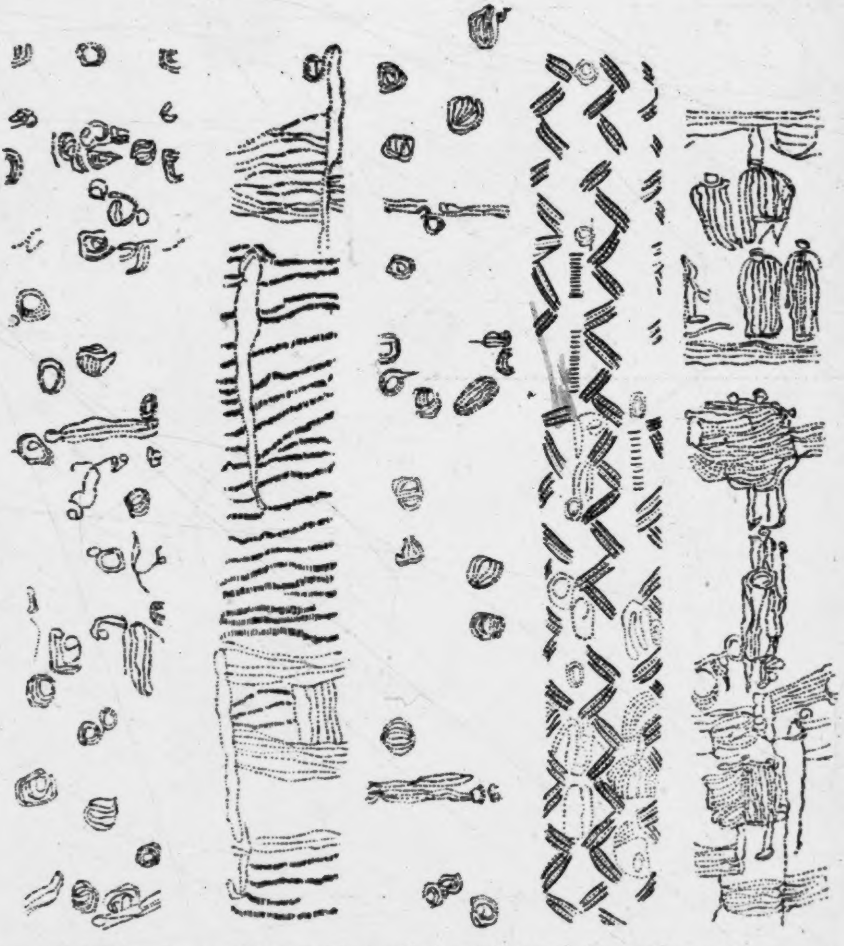


Fig. 22-23. The Incising Rolled off the Sticks of the Bushmen (Museum for Ethnology, Hamburg). Cf. also K. Weule, "Botenstäbe bei den Buschmännern. Eine südafrikanisch-australische Parallele [Messenger Staffs among the Bushmen. A South African-Australian Parallel]," Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde, Leipzig, Vol. 6, 1913-14.

[6^8 cont.]

142 Racially, these Bushmen are smaller and lighter in color than
144 those of the north and show the admixtures of the southern Bushman
race to a much greater degree. There is constant coming and go-
648 ing in this region. Seiner (1) reports the following:

[113] 1. J. Seiner, "Der Verbindungsweg zwischen Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika und der Betschuanalandeisenbahn [The Line of Communication between German Southwest Africa and the Bechuanaland Railway]," Globus, Vol. 96, 1910.

"The Bushmen from around Rietfontein are friendly to the Germans and repeatedly supplied the station garrison with effective help against the Herero and Ovambandjeru passing through. At the time of my stay in January and February, 1907, there was a small village of the Au-nin, who belong to Passarge's Kaukau people, one kilometer north of the barracks, and a village of the Ai-khoe, whom Passarge includes among the ||gami people, one and a half kilometers southwest of the station. The Bushmen of the latter village were subject to the Au-nin, who called them Naru (subordinates, slaves). Since in June, 1908, Dr. Pöch found only Au-nin in Rietfontein, it would seem that the Ai-khoe, in the meantime had emigrated or were driven out by the Au-nin."

To some extent all these tribes represent a cultural unit. A
[184] 114 fine study by First Lieutenant Kaufmann (2) is available for the

[113] 2. Kaufmann, "Die ≠Au-in, "Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1910.

≠Auin, and one by D.F.Bleek (3) for the Naron. I shall now compare

[113] 3. D.F.Bleek, "The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari," Publications of the School of African Life and Language, Cambridge, 1928.

these tribes with one another, and it is to be understood that only the data concerning the Nogau are my own.

≠AUIN
NOGAU
NARON

[68 cont.]

1. Birth and Childhood

844 Among the ≠Auin, the husband of a woman in childbed slings
the string of his bow around her stomach, but he is not present at
the birth itself. The cord is severed with the tip of a reed splinter.

Among the Naron and Nogau, the delivery proceeds as it does
844 among the !Kung; an old woman usually provides assistance, how-
ever.

Twins (Hoi-holi) are not desired; among the Nogau one of
845 them is killed.

Among the Nogau, the father gives the child its name.
[553] There the child has its umbilical cord severed by means of a
844 sharp quartz splinter. A woman in childbed may not eat blood
and head meat. Until the child is able to sit up, the husband
[833] may not cohabit with the mother. The latter custom is also found
among the Betschuana. Nogau children are not allowed to eat
262 the flesh of the wildcat and of two birds (tsugnussi and /gui).
[114] Kaufmann has made some observations concerning children's
524 games; Bleek also provides some data:

Among the ≠Auin little bows and arrows serve as children's
toys. The same applies to the Naron and Nagau [sic]. Stilts
[461] are known among the Auin and are used by men and boys. Con-
cerning children's games among the Naron, Miss Bleek reports:
524

The Game of the Big Water Snake

A boy crawls on his stomach to a small pile of sand which is supposed to represent the waterhole. At some distance from it, the children sit in a row, one behind the other, in such a way that each one sits between the legs of the one behind him; he puts his hands on the shoulder of the person in front of him. The biggest child [69] always sits at the front, the smallest at the back. They sing a song that in part is no longer intelligible. (Probably in the children's language.) This big "snake" now moves very slowly around the waterhole, while the water snake from time to time throws sand on it; then the others withdraw. At the end the snake catches one from the row and "eats it." I

[69 cont.] I

524 have observed an analogous game among the Betschuana children
[171] in Epukiro.

The Elephant-Ostrich Game

Again a pile of sand serves as a substitute for a waterhole. Two boys come as elephants and want to drink. Two others imitate ostriches and will not let the elephants get water.

The Oxen Game

Three or four boys represent the oxen. One is regarded as the owner; another wants to steal them. After a little struggle, he gradually succeeds in doing so. Once he has stolen all of them, the game is over. (Compare the "ox stealing" among the Bergdama from Okombahe.) [Fig. 24 appears here.] [532]

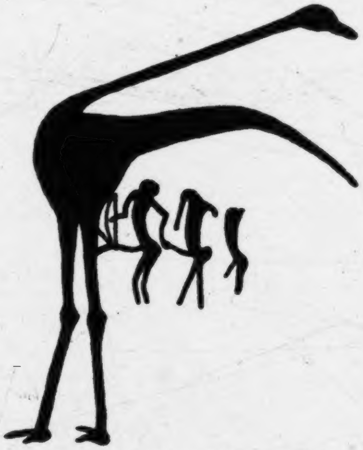


Fig. 24. Magical Contact between Hunters and Game (Salt River Valley, Kaofeld). From H. Obermaier and H. Kühn, Buschmannkunst [Bushman Art].

NARON
NOGAU

[69 cont.]

The Bartering Game

574 It is exactly like analogous games in Europe.

The War Game

The boys stand in two rows facing each other and play at shooting arrows. The one shot at tries to protect himself. As soon as he becomes tired, he falls over as a "dead person." The game is played until only one is left.

The Bride-Stealing Game

Two young girls dance behind a bush. They are the brides. Two older girls with sticks follow their trail; they are the suitors who try to catch the two brides. When they have succeeded, two more girls representing the mothers appear, and they try to prevent the abduction of the brides. Finally, however, the brides are abducted anyway.

The Ball Game

The ball game is definitely a women's game, in which small girls and grandmothers alike participate. The players stand in two rows facing each other, and the ball, usually a round watermelon, is thrown from one row to the other.

2. The Boys' Initiation

881 Among the Nogau, the boys are initiated when they reach maturity. The boys' initiation is called Dschai-dschua.

The young man is not accepted into the community of men simply through marriage. He must first submit to the initiation, which proceeds as follows among the Nogau:

Under the leadership of an experienced elder and several

NOGAU
≠AUIN

[69 cont.]
assistants, the boys go into the bush. On the first day two verti-
881 cal incisions are made on the forehead; then they sing through-
out the night and dance to the melody: "Ije, ije, aije, aije . . .
(539) oho, oho," etc.

On the morning of the second day, the incisions on the
[304] forehead are extended to the root of the nose and the hairline. On the afternoon of this day the elders call the youths together to look for veldkost. The elder loosens the roots with his digging stick, and as he does so the candidates place their hands on the arm doing the work. The boys must then dig the roots out of the ground with their hands, without the help of tools. "From now on they can look for veldkost themselves, for now they have been taught."

After this lesson they return to the place where the women are. [70] Food is prepared there for both the men and the candidates; the candidates are allowed to eat only veldkost, no meat. Then they dance, together with the women and girls, for a night and half a day.

In the afternoon the candidates go hunting. They must bag three animals: a small duiker, a guinea fowl, and a bullfrog. They take their prey and assemble with the older instructors at a remote place, the three kinds of meat are cooked together, the meat is eaten by the elders, and the bodies of the boys are washed all over with the soup. From now on they may eat the three ani-
[262] mals, hitherto forbidden to them. Now they again dance and
[539] sing: "Oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu" (long drawn-out).

≠Auin: The candidates from neighboring villages go into
881 the bush under the leadership of the doctor, and they live there on veldkost for a few weeks. During this time they receive instructions in secret matters. Kaufmann reports the following
[535] dance: A boy gets up on the back of another, and both of them wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier swinging from one leg to the other as rapidly as possible without moving forward, and both of them yell "hu, hu." They actually attain manhood, which gives them the right to marry, only through the hunting test. Tattooing is not connected
[304] with the declaration of manhood.

NARON
≠AUIN
NOGAU

[70 cont.]

881 Among the Naron, on the other hand, they must first pass the hunting test before they are admitted to the boys' initiation. Ten or 12 candidates are taken into the bush and must live for a month on veldkost, which is sprinkled with a medicine by the doctor before it is eaten. Women are not allowed to come near the camp.

During one of the nocturnal dances, Hise appears, dances
[776] around the circle, and is then driven away by the medicine man.
[787] Some say Hise looks like a woman; others describe him as a be-
535 ing three feet tall, with a flat head, large eyes, black body,
881 wings and claws (one is reminded of the spirit bird Engorori,
which appears at the initiation of the Ovambo, or of the Neida
Gamaseb of the Bergdama).

Some old ≠Auin saw two beings, one male and one female,
787 who looked like lions but walked upright; they were followed by
children who looked like baboons.

Evidently masked dances, are involved here. The younger
535 men no longer see this Hise; the doctors explain to them that he
881 came, but could only be seen by the medicine men.

A special dance for Hise is an imitation of a bird's movements. In olden times the people also danced in pairs, while they sang in refrain: "Ostrich stomach, Hise stomach, hu, hu, hu."

The /Di dance is likewise dedicated to Hise. At this dance the men wear the dance rattles described above, as is also done for profane dances, but in addition they wear white or black ostrich feathers.

3. The Girls' Initiation

Among the Nogau when a girl has her first menstruation,
881 there is a celebration. Throughout the first day the girl must stay
[343] in a closed, arbor-like pontok especially constructed for her. She
is only given something to drink, nothing to eat. The women
gather from far and near and perform dances around this arbor.
These festivities last for five days, and only one man is present
as a leader of the ceremony. During these five days the girl is
regarded as "poisonous" and may not touch anything, not even

NARON
≠AUIN
NOGAU

[70 cont.]

her food, which is given to her by an old woman. On the sixth day
881 the girl goes looking for veldkost with an old woman, and, when
she has returned, she herself makes the fire and cooks the food in
the circle of her guests, for the first time officially independent.
(582) Girls may marry even before this ceremony.

[71] Among the ≠Auin the initiation is held for each girl
881 at the time of the first menstruation. The same is true among
the Naron. The eland bull dance is performed every night during
881 the girl's period. Two old men attach real or wooden eland
535 horns to their heads and wait in the bush. Then the menstruating
girl comes and sits down or lies down surrounded by old women,
in the center of a circle of younger women who stage a dance.
The two eland bulls soon appear and then quickly disappear
again. The dance is very indecent. Among the Nussan, men
masked as birds (!) take the place of the eland bulls.

Once a year, in autumn when the veldkost is harvested,
796 there is a great festival. The day is called: "//gam gna she
(the great day)." On this occasion food is prepared, and the
Bushmen come from all sides. They dance and sing, but they
are supposed to stay at home; no one may hunt, look for veldkost, or do any kind of work. [Fig. 25 appears here.]

4. Courtship, Wedding, and Marriage

If a young Bushman wants to marry, he does not go to the
girl, but instead must speak with her parents; at the same time
584 the girl's consent to the marriage is necessary. Once this consent is given, presents are exchanged between the parents of the
engaged couple, or a gemsbok is shot and divided between the
two families. Immediately after the presents have been exchanged, preparations for the wedding are begun. If enough
game, above all, a gemsbok, is at hand, they dance through the
[539] entire night and sing: "Ueeõ, ueeeõ, õ, eee, gueeõ, guueeõ,"
etc.

Then the young man takes his wife and moves to the horde
581 of his father. Great importance is attached to virginity before
[591] marriage. "It simply does not happen among us that a girl

NARON
ǂAUIN
NOGAU

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the
horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to offspring
[842] in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during pregnancy.
843 When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
845 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys belong
596 to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong
to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest relatives
601 are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu;
the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and
father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is
forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage
is forbidden even with the children
of the mother's brothers and
mother's sisters; within the
individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy
is the rule, but, as among
the !Kung, a man may
take a second wife provided
he has the consent of the first.

[301
789
303]

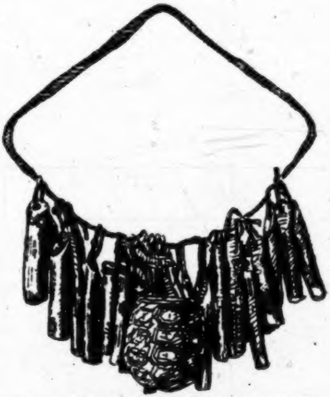


Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obligation
587 on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law
or to support her.

ǂAuin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she
584 is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take
her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

≠AUIN
NAGAU

[72 cont.] The SUITOR

584 brings his future parents-in-law presents in the form of game and
[583] veldkost, sometimes for more than a year. If matters go smoothly,
[585] he takes the girl to his hut after a while, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. If, in spite of her parents' consent, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to state her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man finally takes the girl forcibly into his hut. Should a man do
684 violence to a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be

301

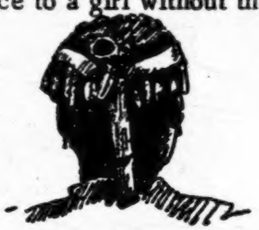


Fig. 26. Nagau Girl in Festive Finery of Ostrich Egg Beads (Girls' Initiation).

killed. There are no special ceremonies when the marriage is
585 concluded. The engagement, undertaken before the couple settles in the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl around her wrist. Since, however, the "engagement" and "wedding" are separated in time only by the walk to the hut, the grasping of the bride's lower arm may be regarded as concluding the marriage. [Fig. 26 appears here.] The seizing of the lower arm is done rather violently, and on the walk to the hut the bride allows herself to be dragged along to a certain extent. It is curious to note how the relationship of the son-in-law to his
606 mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids his mother-in-law's company and does not sit with her. For example, when he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law goes away. If it is absolutely necessary for him to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.
163 Kaufmann observed that most of the women had two or three

≠Auin
Naron
Nogau

[72 cont.]
169 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.
Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes
591 stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his
authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker.
Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least
nominally.

422 Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
685 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is
punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial
district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same
serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand,
a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not
shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost
is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on
the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the individual's private property.

628 The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
721 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively
against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of
the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war
is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

ǂAUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[73 cont.]

726 Before going to war, the body is smeared with a magic medicine (/num). If old enemies are involved, the attack is carried out by subterfuge and stealth. Otherwise the opponents face each other in open battle. Depending upon the degree of enmity, they shoot at each other with either poisoned or unpoisoned arrows. Commonly, however, a conference of the leaders takes place before the beginning of the battle, which leads to a peaceful dispersal of the combatants. The principles of natural morality are honored and recognized both within and outside the horde. It is regarded as bad to inflict harm on another person or not to assist him if he is in need, not because any kind of punishment is to be feared, but because this is what elders have taught.

6. The World Picture and Religion

821 The sun is a man and is called /gam or kha//ā, the hunter. The moon is a woman and is called !nui or /nauga, "the one who runs around."

773 821 Formerly the sun, the moon, and the hare lived together. One day Mrs. Moon and Mr. Hare were having a quarrel. The moon split open the hare's snout with an ax. The hare then scratched the moon's face. This is still visible today. When the sun came home, he became angry and said: "Now we have had enough of the earth; now we shall go up so that the hare will be alone. I shall burn him from above, and I shall become very hot so that during the day he cannot run about as he wants to." The moon replied: "That is a good idea; at night I shall go and bring the cold, so that the hare will freeze when he looks for his food."

Since that time, the sun and moon are in the firmanent.

The dome of the sky is the covering of the sun and moon. When the sun and moon went up to the sky, they had little sacks of resin with them. They threw them away. The grains of resin are now the stars.

When the sun, moon, and hare were still together, the sun said, "Men shall not die," and the moon agreed with him. But the hare said: "No, people must die, because I, too, must die."

776 821 Rain is made by sorcerers; these are called Gowa. They do

ǂAUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[73 cont.]

776 821 not die, but otherwise they are like people, except that they have
black skin. When there is no rain, the Bushmen make a large
[789] fire and throw into it a root, "he," and a male turtle. As soon
[535] as it starts to rain, they dance, strike themselves on the thighs,
[534] and sing: "Ehe, ehe, ehe, ije, ije, ije, ehe, ehe, ehe," etc.
The sorcerers can transform themselves into lions.

The rain sorcerer lives on earth as other people do. The rainbow is the rain dog. The clouds are the rain hairs.

At the time of new moon, they say the moon is sleeping. During the night the sun runs back to the east.

Thunder and lightning are not made by the rain, but by Gauab who among these Bushmen has become a personification of evil. Lightning is called "Gauab's knife."

The dark night sky is the covering of the moon and sun. The dome of the sky is called /gna. My informants left it an open question as to whether the sun perhaps "might be the greatest," the one who has made everything. On the other hand, Khu is likewise regarded as the creator. He made heaven and earth, and he also made human beings live. Khu is not a human being; he is good, but nothing more is known about him. He does not interfere in the course of the world and of human life. To be sure, they say, "Khu is the greatest, and Gauab is the smallest," but nonetheless Gauab plays a larger role in their lives. He controls thunder and lightning, he races over the steppe as a destructive wind spout, visible to all, and he also kills people by tearing out their souls and making a little Gauab out of them. This little Gauab in turn runs about in the bush and does all kinds of evil things.

[74] There is a secret moon cult among the Naron. They
794 pray to the new moon for rain. In olden times certain stars, espe-
787 cially the morning star and the Southern Cross, which they call
821 "fire shoe," are also supposed to have been invoked. The story of
773 the moon and the hare is told in the following way: The moon
821 said: "People must die and arise again, just as I die and return
again." But the hare contradicted her and said that people should remain dead. The moon then became angry and cut the hare's mouth with a hoe.

"The moon is an old man, and the sun a young girl, his wife. First the moon goes under the sky, and then the sun follows behind

≠AUIN
NARON

[74 cont.]

773 him. They go to their huts which are under the horizon in the
821 west. At night or during the day, respectively, they go back to
their huts in the east; one can hear them but cannot see them."

114 Kaufmann was unable to discover anything concrete con-
776 cerning the high gods of the ≠Auin. Concerning the Naron, Bleek
776 relates that a curious mixture of religious conceptions has come
about. A central position is occupied by Hise or Hyesa, who is
designated as !Khuba or !X'uba by the adult men. The old people
knew nothing about this. The Nama designate !Khub as master
or lord, and this word is used by a number of missionaries for
Christ. These elders maintain that this concept has been adopted
[177] from the Nama. Formerly they only knew Hise, who lived in the
east. Hise is evidently the same as Heitsi Aibib (literally, "the
first tree").

The Naron relate that in olden times both the trees and the
773 animals were human beings who were transformed by Hise into
their present shapes. Then Hise called the chiefs of the Whites
and Blacks and said to them: "Take cows and goats and live with
them." But to the first chiefs of the Bushmen he said: "Take
the antelopes and live on them; make traps and hunt and live in
the bush."

The expression Huwu or Huwuba is known and is supposed to
776 designate the great captain of the men in the north. The details
given by Miss Bleek concerning //Gauwa are interesting. In the
opinion of the Naron and ≠Auin, //Gauwa is the spirit of a de-
[775] ceased person. Medicine men can also see these spirits; the
[787] women can only hear them. Many a woman declared that only
men who had gone through the initiation ceremony and who have
two scars between the eyebrows can become //Gauwa. A strong,
howling wind is also designated as //Gauwa, however. A few in-
dividuals also believe in a chief spirit by this name, who lives
near Hise in the east and to whose house the spirits return by day.
Some designate //Gauwa as the younger brother of Hise; others
identify him with the latter.

The Naron put both masculine and feminine endings on the
word Hise. Among the ≠Auin he appears during their dances at

≠AUIN
NARON
[illegible]OGAU

[74 cont.]

776 one time as a man and at another time as a woman.

7. Medicine

The curing practices of the Nogau Bushmen are very primi-
757 tive. They have nothing for snakebite and nothing for arrow
poison.

Eland fat is a universal medicine. For the common eye
278 inflammations this fat is smeared into the eye; for headaches
warm eland fat is dripped into the ear; for a cold the nostrils and
nose are smeared with eland fat.

Sickness comes either from the evil head Gauab or from
753 sorcerers. The ailment is caused by a little Gauab who has settled
[754] in the body. The more gravely ill a person is, the more Gauana
have entered into him. The doctors are able to draw out these
755 spirits of sickness; they do it in a fashion analogous to that prac-
756 ticed by the !Kung. There are also female doctors.

The spirits of sickness are regarded here as much more ma-
753 terial than among the !Kung; such a Gauab looks like a human
776 being, but he may also appear as a lion, a wildebeest, or a snake.
Once the Gauab has been drawn out of the body, it runs away and
speaks to no one.

The sorcerers in particular like to transform themselves into
756 lions. Among the Bushmen farther north [75] it is supposedly
[825] the case that when they see a wildebeest in the bush, for example,
it is not a wildebeest at all, but a Gauab. The doctors receive
their power from the highest Gauab (/gaua //gaicha). He is the
one who appears in the wind spouts. As among the Bantu, the
doctors must go to school for several years with older colleagues.
[754] They are not only able to cure, but also to practice magic in the
bad sense, in that they induce /Gaua //gaicha to make ill anyone
whom they want to harm.

"Whoever wants to become a sorcerer must go to school with another witch doctor. When someone is struck by lightning, it is said that Gauab struck him down with his knife. Some then become great doctors and often speak with Gauab. Gauab also comes as a wind spout."

NARON
NOGAU
≠AUIN

[75 cont.]

Among the Naron, according to Miss Bleek, the Bushman
754 411 revolver is also in use. The doctors fight one another with it.
Such an arrow is secretly shot at the opponent's kaross, and through
the magic emanating from the arrow, the enemy falls sick and
dies.

8. Death and Burial

The Nogau have the following conceptions: Death is
761 caused by Gauab, who steals the soul and makes a little Gauab
of it. The dead person is buried immediately; there is no
764 dancing, only weeping. The corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on its side with the head toward the east. Only
the sleeping blanket is placed in the grave; the weapons that
were left behind are kept by the brothers. The food that the
deceased was carrying with him is thrown on the grave. Then
bushes are placed on it.

(775) In their opinion the soul of the deceased, which has been
769 transformed into a Gauab, wanders around near the grave; therefore they detour around it. When a Nogau Bushman passes the
grave of a tribal member, he prays to him for help in hunting so
that the children will grow fast and become fat. He says:

"I do not know how it will go with me
[539] With the food, how it will go with me with the food;
I do not know what I should do to get something to eat,
Let us eat and become big."

On the other hand, there is also the belief that the great
775 Gauab who kills a human being eats the heart or keeps it in cold
water and finally makes a new Bushman of it. Among the Naron
764 the corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on his side
with the face toward the east. These customs are by no means
always observed, however, especially when the ground is hard.
The Naron do not fear the spirits of the dead, although the doctors
769 787 see them, as do those men "who have incisions between the eyebrows." As we know from the Nogau, this includes all who have
taken part in the boys' initiation. Women can never see such
spirits.

Among all three tribes, old people are exposed to die.
888

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[75 cont.]

9. Hunting

224 Even today the western Kalahari has fairly abundant game, and life can be maintained at least to some extent by hunting. Before going to hunt, a tamana fruit (tse) is rubbed on the face. They also try to absorb the powers of the game by means of inoculation. For example, when a duiker has been killed, little pieces of the heart and ear are charred. This animal charcoal is then rubbed into an incision on the upper arm. Both in war and [202] hunting, people communicate by means of smoke signals. The chief hunting weapon [76] is the bow with the poisoned arrow. 278 The poison (1) is obtained from the cocoons of a beetle larva that

[113] 1. Lewin has devoted several studies to Bushman poisons ("Pfeilgifte der Buschmänner [Arrow Poisons of the Bushmen]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 44, 1912).

"When I was permitted to examine the first arrows armed with poison that Lichtenstein had brought home from his journey in the year 1806 and which are kept in the Museum for Ethnology here, I was able to establish that there is alkaloid in the poison, which initially had stimulating, and later paralyzing effects on spine and brain. Because of the small quantity of the material, nothing further could be determined, except for a curious color reaction that the alkaloid isolated from the poison produced with concentrated sulphuric acid.

"I have now succeeded in producing from the bulb of Haemanthus toxicarius, the 'poison bulb' of the old Dutch colonists, the most active ingredient, an alkaloid which chemically and toxically

[76 cont.]

278

corresponds to the active ingredient of the poison taken from the arrow. I gave it the name Haemanthin.

"After the subcutaneous injection of animals with the water soluble albumin isolated from Blepharida larvae six to seven milimeters long, disturbances of movement set in fairly rapidly. Food is no longer taken. It makes doves vomit, and, like rabbits, they also get diarrhea. They become quiet, they huddle motionless, and their eyelids, which for a time move almost ceaselessly, finally are affected by the lethargy or inability to move. The eyes are closed. The animals then fall into a sleep-like state and perish, but commonly only after many hours of difficult breathing. Dissection shows changes in the kidney."

[137] A survey of the poisonous plants of South Africa has been supplied by J. M. Watt. In South Africa over five hundred species are used as medicinal plants, and 150 are regarded as dangerous poisonous plants. Most of the poisonous plants known to date have an effect like digitalis. The old arrow-poison plants of the Bushmen, Acokanthera venenata and A. spectabilis, which have been examined in greater detail by Moir, Lewis, and Curson, also belong to this category. It is striking that the poison has an extraordinary chemical and physical stability. For poisoning per os, Boweia volubilis is commonly used by the natives.

[113] Literature: J.M.Watt, M.B., "The Present Position of our Knowledge of South African Medicinal and poisonous Plants,"

AUIN
NARON
NOGAU
HEI//OM

278 lives on the roots of an acacia. The Bushman carries several of
these cocoons around with him, like cartridges, in an antelope
horn. If the arrow tip is to be poisoned, a fire is made, some of
the acacia resin that the Bushman always carries is smeared on
the arrow tip, and then a cocoon is broken and its contents
rubbed on the tip. On one occasion one of my Bushmen had over-
looked a small wound on his thumb, through which the poison
penetrated into his blood stream. The penetration of the poison
was not very painful; he merely had a feeling "as though warm
water was penetrating into his flesh." The arm was considerably
[752] swollen for a week. The others made numerous incisions and
scarifications with glowing sticks on him in order to save him.
[262] The flesh of the animal killed in this way is eaten raw, poisonous.

278 Von François (2) reports that the Hei//om of this region prepare their poison from the milky sap of the Apocynacea adenium Boehmianum. When exposed to the sun, it first becomes violet and then black. It is kept in little leather sacks and in case of need is warmed and mixed with the sap of the Habas root and applied to the arrow tips with flat sticks. These Bushmen still
[412] used grooved stones to direct the arrow shaft.

[76 cont.]

113 South African Journal of Science, Vol. 25, 1928.

J. Moir, J.S.A., Chemical Institute, VII, 1924, p. 28.

J. Moir and J. Lewis, J.S.A., Chemical Institute, VIII, 1925, p. 11.

H. H. Curson, Some Little-known South African Poisonous Plants and their Effects in Stock. Thesis for Diploma of F.R.C.V.S., 1926.

[113] 2. Von François, "Reiseberichte Windhuk-Gobabis [Travel Report, Windhoek-Gobabis]," Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, V., 1892.

[76 cont.]

411 [192] The little bow (!naru) is made from the //ne bush and is much shorter than that of the !Kung. The arrow and the arrow point are called tschi. They have arrows with iron points like the !Kung, as well as others made of bone. The accompanying figures show the two types, which have already been sufficiently described by other authors. The arrow points found in older collections, on which the poison is applied not only at the tip but also in lines or dots of little lumps on the contact piece, are now no longer in use. The bows of the Naron are also small, and they likewise have two kinds of arrows. The arrow shafts are made of reed, which is used only in a few places. In addition, all these tribes have root-stock clubs. [431] Spears (kuku) are bartered from the Ovambo in exchange for ostrich egg beads. 231 Bleek writes [77] of the Naron that formerly they had no dogs at all, and Kaufmann reports that the ≠Auin have very few dogs. The Nogau had all kinds of mongrels, but none of any peculiar strain. Two animal stories should be told in this connection:

539 1. A large bird killed a duiker. Then the hyena came and took the duiker. The hyena met the jackal. The jackal said: "Hyena, you should not go where you want to go, otherwise bad things will happen to you!" But the hyena went anyway, and the great bird (!gui) came and tied the hyena's feet together and made a fire by its feet. Since then the hyena has black legs and dares not kill anything living. But the jackal also went stealing, whereupon the great bird seized him and held him with his back to the fire; since then it has a black stripe across its back.

2. The lion came to the watering place; then the frog came out of the water and mocked the lion. The latter wanted to kill the frog, but only scratched it on its back; the frog quickly jumped into the water again, but since then it has black stripes on its back. [Fig. 27 appears here.]

10. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The clothing of the man consists of the cap, made from the hide of the jackal, the jumping hare, or the duiker, and the loincloth, sandals, and the hide bag. In general the clothing of these Bushmen is not essentially different from that of the Bushmen

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[77 cont.]

291 [301] in the north, but they have far more ostrich egg pearls.

11. Weapons

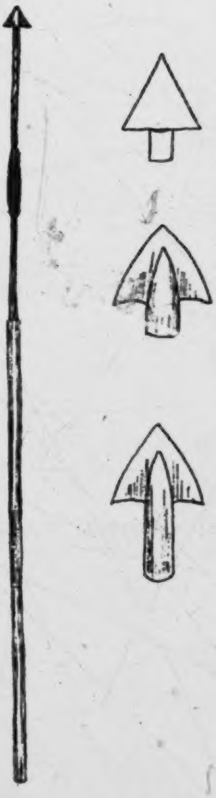


Fig. 27. Arrows of the Nogau.

The ≠Auin have the throwing lance; the digging stick is
411 occasionally also used for striking and as a throwing club. The
[439] lance points are bartered from Ngami Lake. The upper end of the shaft is bound with a strip of antelope skin or tendons. The shaft tapers off toward the end. The lance points are distinguished as male and female. The male points have blunt barbs. The points are often provided with a leather cap. The lance points also serve as a knife and universal instrument. The spear points are kept well hidden. Among the Naron, spears
411
439 are very rare today; they are obtained from Ovamboland in exchange for chains of ostrich egg beads. The same is true of the Nogau, who, however, obtain their spear points in part from the Ovambo and in part from the Okawango by way of the !Kung.

The bow of the ≠Auin is small;
411 the string is twisted out of animal
[283] tendons and is pushed up on one side and fastened on the other. The arrows are made of reed. At the bottom of the shaft there is a shallow notch, and the end is wound with grass. Similarly, we find a notch at the upper end where the point is inserted. The length of the arrow shaft is from 48 to 52 centimeters. The points are made either of iron or bone; in the latter case ostrich bones are used. The bone arrowhead is pointed at both ends, one of which is inserted

ǂAUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[77 cont.]

411 into the reed shaft while the other is poisoned. In other cases,
the short arrowhead is joined to a bone spindle by means of a connecting piece made of grass, and this bone spindle is in turn
fixed into the shaft so that the arrow is tripartite. The arrows
are either carried in the quiver already assembled, or the points
[78] are kept in small containers of bark or horn closed off at
both ends by leather caps. Three bows of the Nogau had lengths
[411] of 89, 95, and 100 centimeters. Animal tendons are used.

The battle insigne of the ǂAuin is a war cap made from the
[714] hide of the aardwolf. The bow of the Naron is made of Grevia
411 wood and is about a meter long. Not only tendons but also plant
fibers are used for the bowstring. The plant strings are a surrogate that the Bushmen are forced to use today due to the lack of game. The bow itself is reinforced at the ends with a binding of tendons or leather.

The arrow shafts resemble those of the ǂAuin, as do the
points. The iron points are not removable and are called male.
The metal is obtained from the north and is worked cold by the
[325] ǂAuin. The Naron themselves make no iron arrowheads. [Fig.
28 appears here.]

Whereas during Kaufmann's time the ǂAuin did not have
the kirri, the Naron have it today; its lower end is sharpened
to a point so that it can also be used as a digging stick. The
Nogau, though not too commonly, have throwing clubs that
[411] correspond to those of the Dama and Herero, but are more crudely
worked.

Concerning the Naron, Bleek also mentions harpoons with long, composite shafts, which serve to get jumping hares and the like out of their holes. This tool will be described in greater detail under the Dama [untranslated].

Like all Bushmen, the Nogau make fire by rubbing two
372 sticks together. The female stick is called Dane-di, the male
Dane-ǂgoa. Firemaking itself is designated as Dalisi, one of the
many strange words without clicks that we find among the Nogau.

Bushman wells are likewise used and are called //a-si.

312 The girls have a toy (gai-dum) consisting of several sticks
of various kinds, which they wear on the chest. They drum on
524 IT WITH THE FINGERS.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 155]

411
283

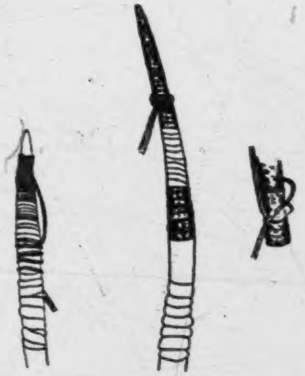


Fig. 28. Bows of the Nogau. (1/3 actual size [as shown in original text]).

224

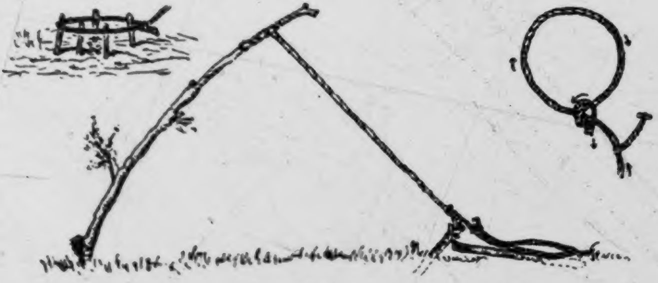


Fig. 29. Game Trap (from Gentz, Globus, Vol. 83, 1903).

[78 cont.]

000 it with the fingers. [Fig. 29 appears here.]

224 [79] The lion is neither eaten nor hunted. The jackal and
262 leopard are eaten, as is the liver of the latter. Baboons are not
825 eaten, because they were formerly Bushmen.

304 The line of tattooing between the eyebrows make people
302 into leopards among the Nogau. The Naron smear themselves with red and black color. The other incisions and tattooing are made purely for adornment.

825 Among the Naron, millepedes are regarded as creatures
756 of Hise, and only doctors may touch them and make medicine of them. Among the Nogau and ≠Auin there are magical bones
787 that are used to predict the future. The Naron also believe that
(172) the rock engravings stem from //gauwa.

Among the Auin it is forbidden to eat hyena flesh, and
262 likewise the flesh of the shabrack jackal because it is a dog.

The following important data supplied by Gentz (1) should

224
(114)
(113)

1. "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Võlkerschaften [Some Contributions to Knowledge of the Southwest African Tribes]," Globus, Vol. 83, 1903.

be added:

"I have repeatedly found Bushman arrows on which the point, usually made of bone (for the most part ostrich bone), was made of wood. The game sling, reproduced in Figure 29, is constructed as follows: A strong string, four to five millimeters thick, which at one end terminates in a simple loop, is fastened at the other end to a flexible young tree or branch that is bent far over. A small, thinner string with a transverse stick is attached at the loop end. The string is placed around a small post driven into the ground at an angle, and it is prevented from slipping off by means of a flat piece of wood buried under the ground and planted against the free end of the transverse stick; the sling is placed in a circle on the ground over the flat piece of wood. The game, which follows its customary track to the

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[79 cont.]

224 water or Brak (salt) place and is prevented from turning off the track by thorn branches placed on either side of the worn track, steps on the little stick lying just below the ground, which moves it out of position and releases the end of the little transverse stick. The string, having lost its hold, releases the bent tree, which snapping back, tightens the noose around the leg of the game and holds the animal imprisoned until the Bushman brutally kills it with a number of blows of his kirri, which is carved out of hard 223 wood. For various kinds of fowl, doves, etc., the Bushman prepares similar slings with thinner string, which are set up in the same way except that the sling is not placed on the ground but is held two or three centimeters above the ground by means of little sticks planted in a circle. In the center of the circle, on a little stick loosely covered with sand, there are a few maize kernels or berries. When the bird picks them up, he moves the little stick out of position and finds his neck in the sling. -- As household 415 implements among the Kalahari Bushmen, in addition to the hollow 237 ostrich eggs used to carry water, I found water sacks made from the inner peritoneum of an animal, not unlike a pig's bladder; these water sacks are closed with a short stick and leather string. [312] The ostrich eggs also serve the Bushmen as artificial watering places in the dry stretches of the water-poor steppe regions, in which a number of them are hidden under the sand.

415 "Among the other household utensils of the Bushmen, I also found flat, wooden vessels, wooden mortars, and earthen pots of various sizes. The wooden vessels, which are completely different from those of the Herero, are, according to their own statements, [439] obtained in trade from their northern neighbors. The earthen pots likewise are not made by the Bushmen themselves. / In form they are somewhat reminiscent of the wooden Omeira pots of the Herero and, as a Herero half-breed declared and demon-600 strated to me, are manufactured in the following manner. A lump of soft and thoroughly kneaded clay is spread out over the naked, moistened knee, so that first of all it assumes the form of the knee. The calf of the leg must be pressed to the thigh in order to obtain the correct shape. Then the clay is carefully taken off, and the shape of the vessel is improved and perfected by kneading it with the fingers. Finally simple decorations are scratched into it with a

[79 cont.]

000 wooden stick. The Herero are not acquainted with the potter's wheel; moreover, these native clay pots have already for the most part been supplanted among them by imported European iron pots."

1. Advance into the Sand Veld.

2. Camp near Shandi in the Otjimpolo Veld.

3. On the high dunes of the Etosha Pan.

4. Under the Baobab Tree of Uukualuthi.

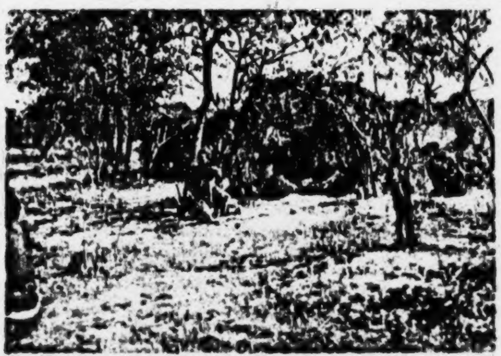
Plate I. Camping Places of the Expedition in the Southwest.

[342]

133
137

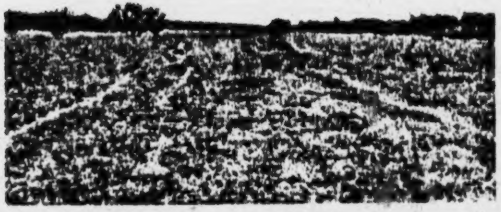
3: Lebzelter--160 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

!Kung



1. !Kung Huts in the Bush Veld.

2. Summer Landscape in the !Kung Veld.



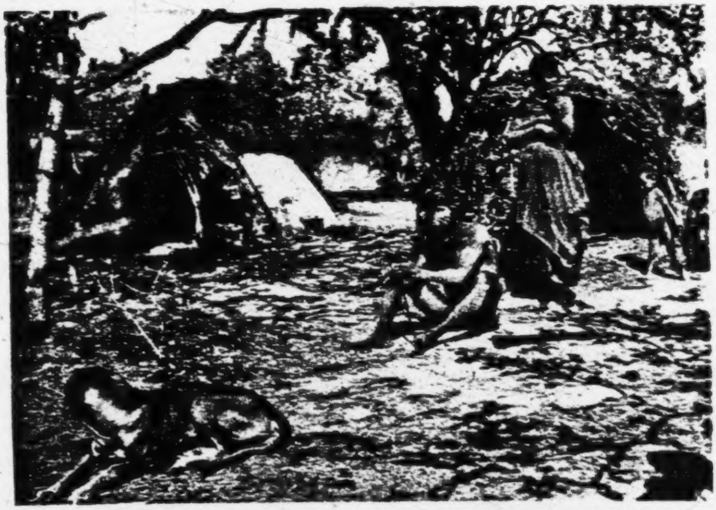
3. The Omuramba u Omatako south of Otjituo.

4. Winter Landscape in the Sand Veld.

Plate II. Landscapes on the !Kung Veld.

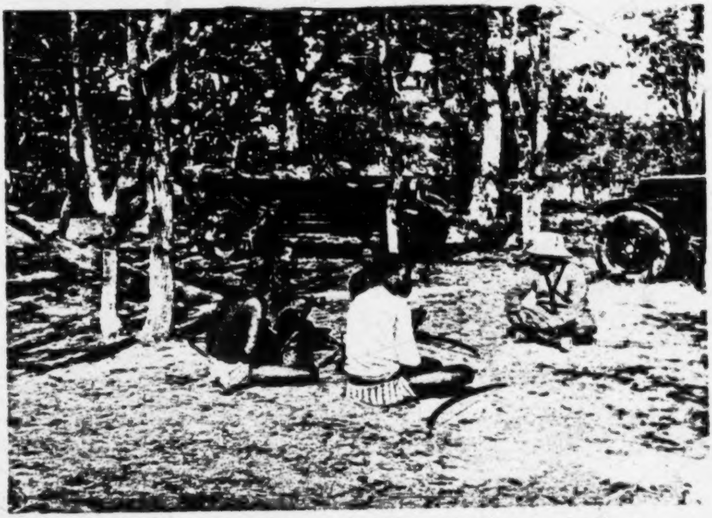
3: Lebzelter--161 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

231
291
342
516



Camp of the !Kung along the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

291
516



The author Negotiating with !Kung Bushmen in the
Otjimpolo Veld.

Plate III. !Kung

!KUNG

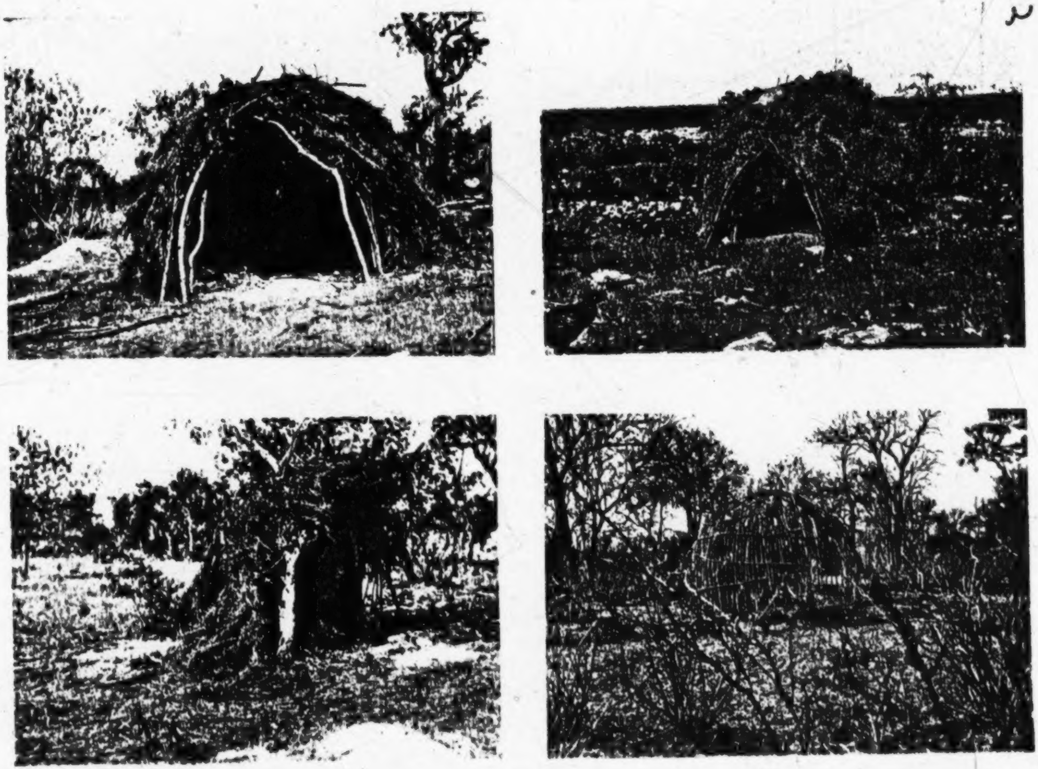


Plate IV. Windscreens and Huts of the !Kung.

!KUNG

142
291
301
302
(854)

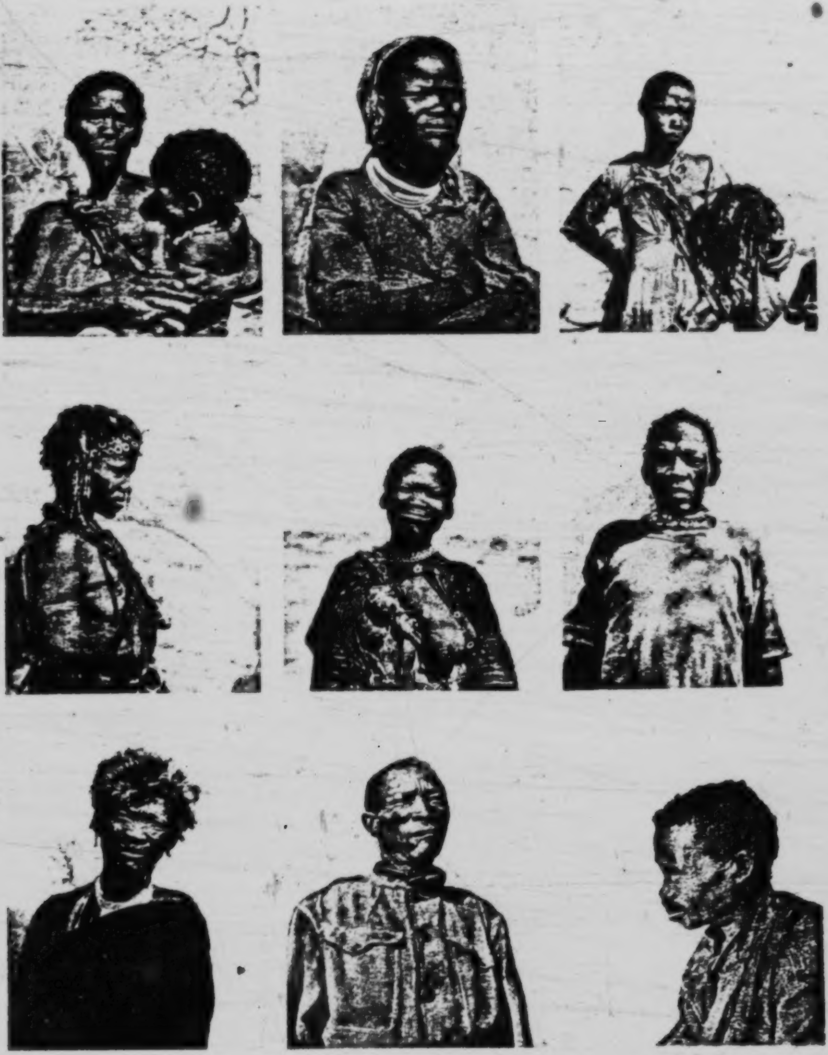
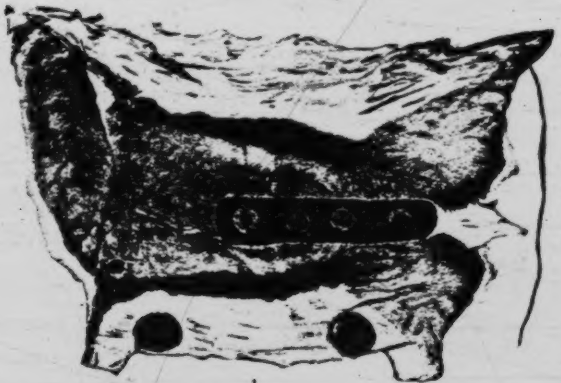
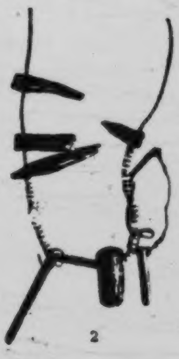


Plate V. !Kung Bushmen from the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

3: Lebzelter--164 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

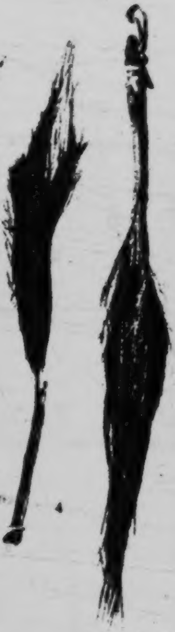
291
301

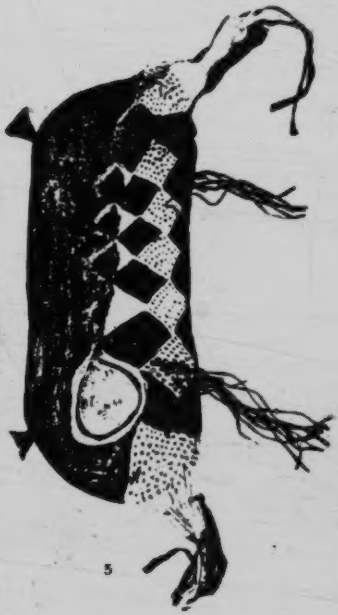

1


2

293
415
531
411

3


4


5

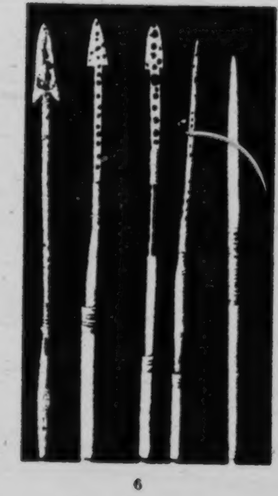

6

Plate VI

1. Back Apron (Betschuana), 2. Neck Band (Bushmen), 3. Grass Armbands, 4. Fly Swatters (!Kung), 5. Hide Sack (Kaunas Hottentot), (Museum for Ethnology, Berlin).

6. Bushman Arrows (Cape Province ?) (Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart).

291
303

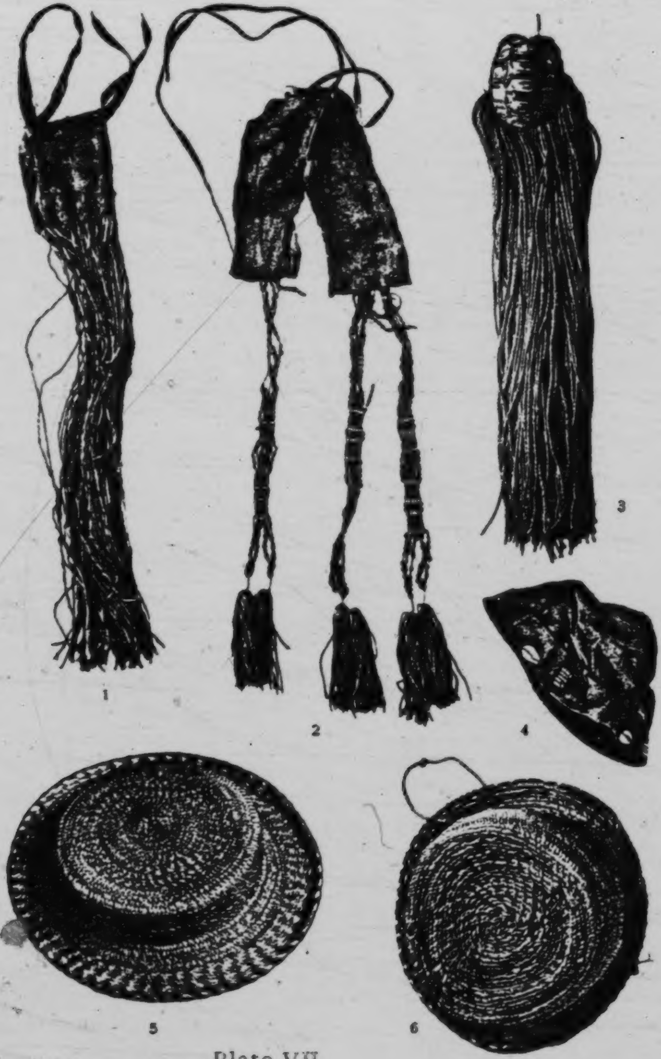


Plate VII

1. Apron for Little Girls (Nama and Hei//om)
2. Women's Apron (Region of Gobabis)
3. Perfume Box (Herero)
4-6. Bushman Caps and Straw Hats of the Bushmen (!Kung)
(1-4 and 6, Ethnology Museum, Berlin; 5. Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart)

!KUNG

142
291
301
516

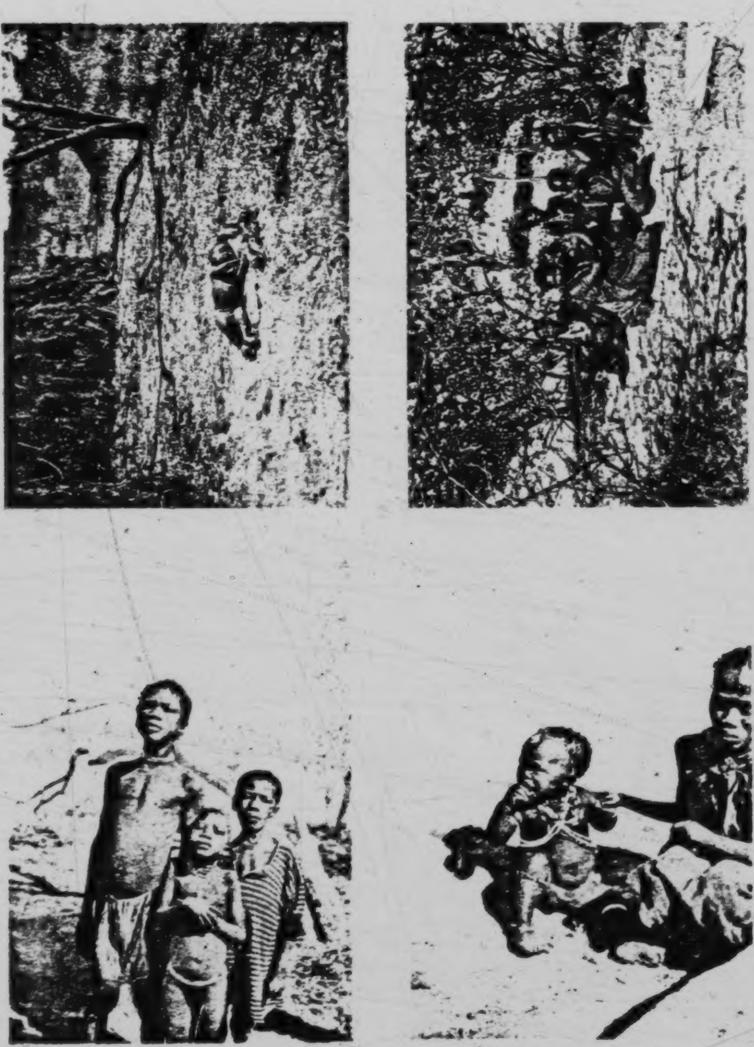
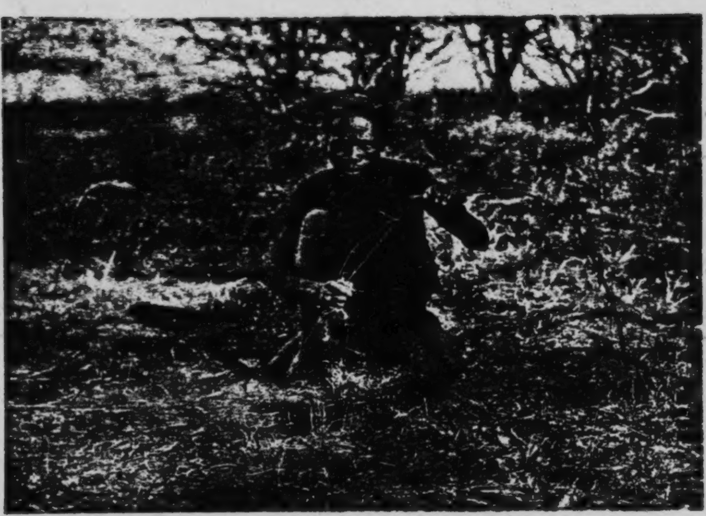


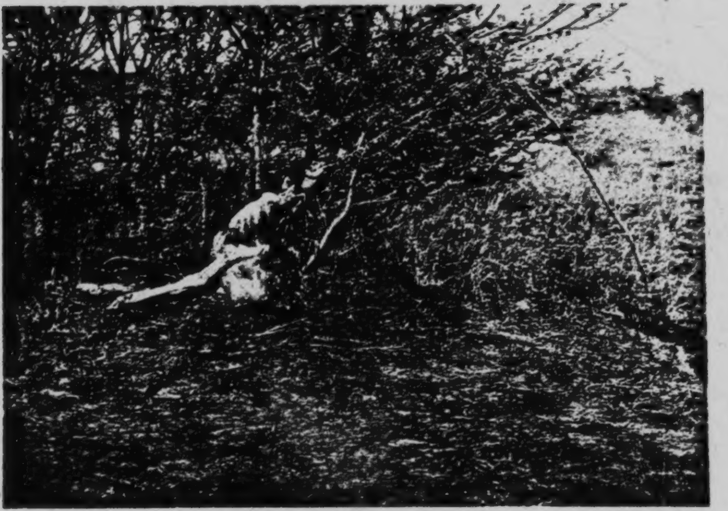
Plate VIII. Children of the !Kung Bushmen.

!KUNG

224



1. !Kung. Setting a Trap.



2. Ostrich in the Trap (!Kung; Sand Veld).

Plate IX.

!KUNG

142
301

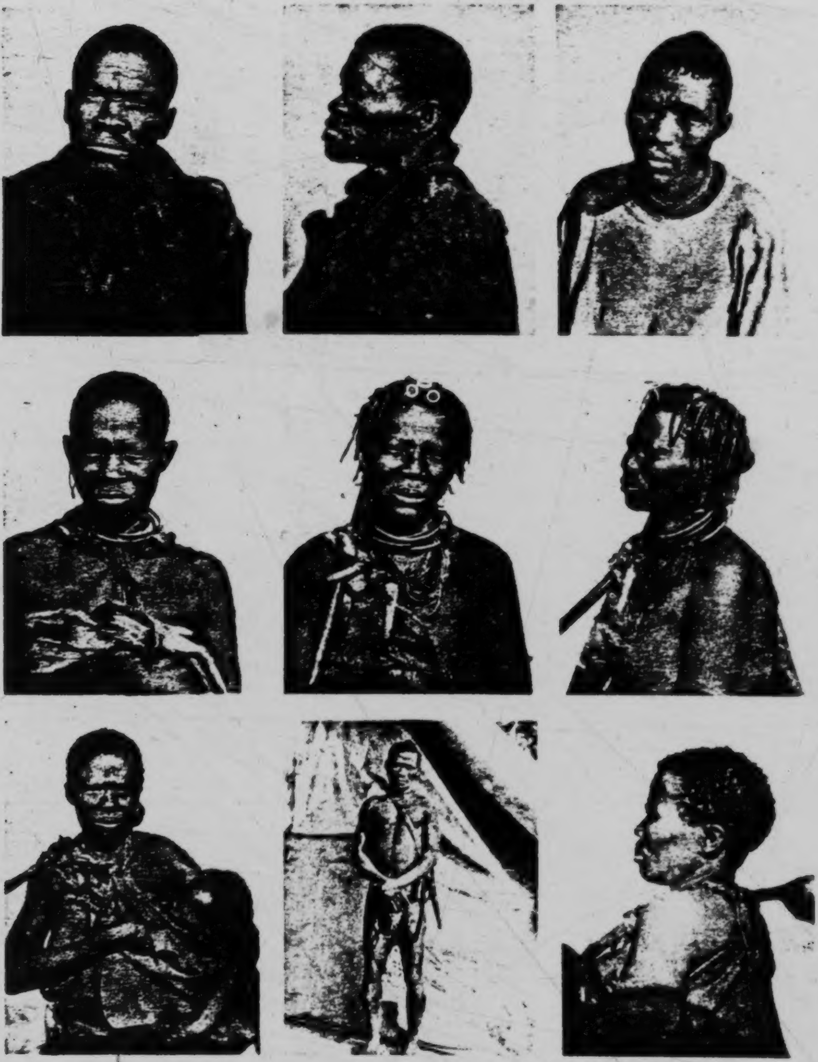


Plate X. !Kung Types from the Otjimpolo Veld.